

Mideast cul-de-sac

Prospects for a peace negotiation in the Middle East seem to be steadily diminishing. Despite a vigorous and commendable early effort to get the diplomatic momentum going again, the Carter administration now appears to be in a cul-de-sac. It is groping for a way out but without any visible success. President Carter has in effect boxed himself into an untenable position. He has explicitly stated what kind of peace settlement he thinks desirable — one that includes a "homeland" for the Palestinians — but, for domestic political reasons, he is unwilling to exert the pressures needed to persuade the disputants, notably Israel, to accept a compromise. The Arabs, meanwhile, grow increasingly skeptical that they can rely on the United States to produce a settlement.

For the moment this stalemate does not look to be alarming. Another outbreak of fighting is not likely as long as Israel has such an overwhelming preponderance of military strength. But it should be obvious to even any lay observer that, unless the United States can find some means of breaking through this impasse, it will be only a matter of time before the Arabs are goaded into preparation for war.

Israel appears to be giving them every provocation for such an action. In fact Israel alone is on the diplomatic offensive these days with a "step-by-step diplomacy" of its own. Prime Minister Menachem Begin knows what he wants and he is proceeding to secure it. In total disregard of what the American President or anyone else thinks, he is permitting Jewish settlement of the West Bank. Israeli Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon has gone so far as to unveil a sweeping plan for the development of a 400-mile stretch from the Golan

Heights in the north to Sharm el Sheikh at the southern end of Sinai. The Jewish settlements to be put there, he says, will form "security belts" that will allow Israel to offer "daring solutions" to a Middle East peace.

The Sharon plan is not yet taken seriously but the suspicion grows that the Begin government does intend to annex the West Bank as its historical right. Certainly its present course of action is a dangerous one that complicates the quest for a reasonable solution of the Palestinian question. It is in total violation of international law and suggests that Israel is prepared to defy the UN no matter what.

The fact is that all past as well as new Jewish settlements set up in the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip are unlawful under the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which state that an occupying power shall not transfer its own civilian population into occupied territories. Israel is acting as if these were not occupied lands. Yet, in an obvious contradiction, it is a signatory to UN Resolution 242 which calls for Israeli withdrawal from territories "occupied" in the 1967 war. It is not hard to see why the Arabs believe Israel is embarked on a program of expansion.

The next stage of diplomacy shifts to meetings with foreign ministers in Washington. In anticipation of these talks President Carter has issued a new policy stating that the Palestinians must be involved at a Geneva conference. The statement, designed apparently to put pressure on both Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization to come up with something new, is a welcome step. But it looks as if it will take a lot more than this if a Geneva conference is to get off the ground.

Forged olive branch



The Christian Science Monitor

Maneuvering around Mao

On one thing at least the Chinese seem to have one up on their ostracized Soviet cousins. They are moving faster to deconsecrate Mao than did the Russians to desanctify Stalin after that dictator's passing in 1953. It was not until 1956, it will be recalled, that Nikita Khrushchev gave the secret speech which launched the process of de-Stalinization.

It is unlikely the new leaders in Peking will furnish their revolutionary hero to the extent the Russians did theirs. But on the first anniversary of Mao's death the Chinese people already are being told that Mao's directives were sometimes contradictory and must be taken in the proper context. The warning apparently is intended to explain the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping and others (after Mao

ordered them purged) and to provide doctrinal justification for more pragmatic internal policies.

In this context, the recent visit to Peking of President Tito of Yugoslavia also is intriguing. Mao would never acknowledge Yugoslavia as a "socialist" country. But the new Chinese leaders not only gave Tito a warm welcome but are taking a conspicuous interest in Yugoslavia's market-style economics and fruitful cooperation with the West.

What this all means for China's future can only be surmised. But it looks as if Mao may be conveniently reinterpreted to suit the demands of the post-Mao era. It is not a revision the West would regret.

Callaghan's uneasy victory

British Prime Minister James Callaghan's blunt talk to the labor unions has paid off. At its Blackpool conference the Trades Union Congress has agreed — and by a big majority — to seek no more than one wage settlement in any 12-month period and to return to free collective bargaining between the unions and industry. This is less than the kind of formal agreement on pay restraint which has existed between the TUC leaders and the government for the past two years. But it nonetheless should help hold the lid on inflation and enable Britain to continue working its way out of its severe economic problems.

The road ahead is not yet clear for Mr. Callaghan, however. It now remains to be seen how the British labor rank-and-file react to the decision reached at Blackpool. After two years of wage restraints workers in a wide range of industries — shipping, coal mining, transport, engineering — are in a militant mood, negotiating to make up at least some of the loss to their real earnings. Hence, the battle now shifts to the shop floors.

For not only sympathize with the desire of

Britons to restore their living standards. Yet it is generally agreed there is no way this can be done unless the great majority of them — if the workers do not hold down their pay demands, the results could be a return to an intolerable rate of inflation, a decline in the value of the pound, and even greater unemployment. Jobslessness now stands at a 30-year high of 1.8 million.

So accepting a further squeeze in living standards and exercising restraint seem to be the price that must be paid to put Britain firmly on the road to recovery. The Labour government already has made some creditable gains in this direction. Inflation has dropped to an annual rate of about 12 percent and the country's reserves of foreign currencies and gold have greatly improved. Public spending has been lightened. North Sea oil production is going well, and the nation's balance of payments could move into the black this year.

There are heartening signs and it is to be hoped that British workers will see the wisdom of continued forbearance.

Racial quotas: who loses?

The U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments this fall in a controversial "reverse discrimination" case which could dramatically alter the shape of civil-rights enforcement in the United States for decades to come. The suit brought by Allan Bakke, a white would-be medical student, against the University of California Medical School raises complex legal, social, and emotional questions for a nation committed to setting a high standard of "human rights."

The Bakke case forces the high court — and all Americans — to consider whether racial quotas in admitting minority students to universities, in hiring and promotion practices or in virtually any other daily activity does not, in effect, amount to "reverse discrimination" against whites. Many argue that whites are thereby denied the protection of equal treatment under the law, a right guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

The term racial "quotas" evokes an emotional response in some circles, much as "busing" did in recent years, forcing some federal officials to opt for "goals," as a more desirable alternative. Regardless of the term used, the basic issue itself has sharply divided even many traditional backers of civil rights for blacks and other minorities but who also feel that race alone is a poor criterion for government agencies, business firms, or universities to use in making decisions.

Certainly some 300 years of sometimes brutal discrimination against blacks makes it incumbent upon white Americans today to provide compensating programs to help offset the deprivations of the past. These for so many years excluded blacks from the mainstream of society. Martin Luther King Jr., the late civil-rights leader, frequently reminded audiences during the turbulent 1960s that it was cruel to

tell people who had no shoes to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

Compassion for minorities and good intentions alone will not right the wrongs which today put black youngsters at a disadvantage in trying to compete with white students whose forefathers were guilty of discrimination although they themselves may not be.

The Carter administration rightly supports "affirmative action" programs for minorities. However, the tough question the Supreme Court must answer is whether race alone should be the deciding factor; unquestionably the individual backgrounds of students and workers should be weighed along with academic achievements and qualifications.

Opponents of quotas, however, also are right to argue that categorizing a person by race might also unfairly and wrongly label him as inferior. On the other hand, a recent study prepared for the nation's law schools indicated that the number of nonwhite law students would drop dramatically if the schools were forced to discontinue their special admissions programs. A study of medical schools reached a similar conclusion.

But the rights of Allan Bakke must also be considered. Sixteen of the 100 admission slots at the medical school he sought to attend went to minority students who, he argues, were less qualified than he. Should he be penalized thus? Should whites, even for a temporary interim transition period, be forced to take a back seat to minorities?

For many years, it should be remembered, the back seat was reserved for blacks.

Printed in Great Britain by King & Hyatt, Ltd., London, W.C.1. For The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Newbury Street, Boston, U.S.A. London Office, 115 Grosvenor Place, London, W.1.

Arab money: big voice in Mideast talks

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Shadowing President Carter's talks here with Arab and Israeli leaders is the potential threat of what oil-rich Arab states might do with their oil and money if Middle East peace talks founder.

A related issue — how to help the world's poor nations sustain their growing oil payment debts — holds center stage at this week's annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) here.

Thus, within a few crowded days, Middle East diplomacy, international finance, and the politics of oil are converging on Washington, with the stakes high for all parties concerned. Analysts unravel the threads of this package as follows:

- Dependence of almost every industrial nation — with the partial exception of the Netherlands, Norway, and Britain — on Arab oil remains substantial. In the case of the United States, that dependence is growing. More than 40 percent of oil imported by the U.S. comes from Arab wells, up from 22 percent in 1973.

- The Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, could throw the world's financial system into turmoil if Arab governments suddenly withdrew some of the billions of dollars they have deposited in Western banks.

- A Senate subcommittee estimates that Arab nations have \$50 billion in "surplus" funds, available for quick withdrawal, deposited in Western banks and other institutions, \$25 billion of it in the United States.

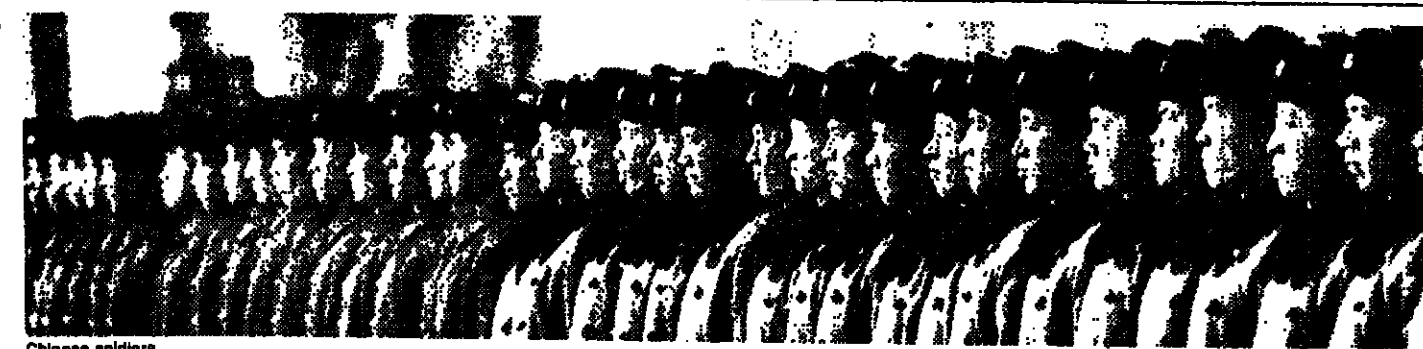
- Saudi Arabia, helmsman of Arab oil policy, links use or

nonuse of the oil and "money weapon" to progress in Arab-Israeli negotiations and in the North-South dialogue between rich and poor nations.

Little progress has been made to date in North-South talks and, on the Middle East front, Israel and the U.S. appear deeply divided on the key issues of Israeli territorial withdrawals and establishment of a Palestinian homeland.

- Debt burdens among developing nations differ, but in the aggregate are growing, with some poor countries in danger of default unless their debts can be rescheduled.

- To deflect additional pressure away from private banks, which hold the bulk of poor nation indebtedness, the IMF is putting into place a new \$10 billion lending facility, called the "Wittoveen facility" after its innovator, H. Johannes Wittoveen, managing director of the IMF. *Please turn to Page 12



China's army marches under the party's thumb

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The military forces of China should remain under firm Communist Party control. That message is being circulated in the form of an article by the vice-chairman of the party military commission, Marshal Hsu Hsiang-chon.

The article also says an examination of radical factionalism is being carried out in the Army to thoroughly eradicate the remnant poison and influence of the so-called "gang of four," the politically prominent group led by the widow of Chairman Mao Tse-tung that was purged after his passing last fall.

Some press reports have suggested this language means a nationwide purge of the military is being carried out.

But analysts here in Hong Kong generally reject that interpretation on grounds that a call for a struggle against the "gang of four" is standard practice in most current Chinese pronouncements. They say it thus should not be taken to signify a full-scale military purge.

Instead, the article may have the following purposes, these analysts suggest:

- To sound a general cautionary note to the

Fog of apathy begins to lift over white S. Africans

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The pendulum has swung. It is now the whites in South Africa who are in turmoil — not the blacks.

A white political apathy, which persisted during the past year while more than 500 blacks died in protests against white domination, has finally been broken. This was signified by Prime Minister John Vorster's announcement of national (white) elections to be held Nov. 30.

The election call seems prompted less by a need for a mandate from the whites than it is by a need for a distraction from mounting criticism from whites who till now have normally

supported Mr. Vorster's governing Afrikaner National Party.

Whites (16 percent of South Africa's total population) waited almost inertly for the whole past year for the ruling Afrikaners (10 percent of the total population) to move.

Only now, during the past month, has white thinking been stirred to a crescendo.

The noise began at the National Party caucuses which are held every year around the country in August. Alarming statements poured into the media from politicians, about the coming hard times, about economic boycotts and the international ostracizing of South Africa because of its race policies.

A National Party plan to have a completely new constitution confused the whites because the plan apparently meant all whites would

people. To some it meant power sharing with other races; to others, it was no such thing.

The Coloreds (people of mixed race, 2 1/2 million strong) rejected the new plan, which was to include them. The Indians (3 1/2 million) did not exactly welcome it either. But the plan will go into effect regardless. (The plan, incidentally, excludes the 18 million blacks.)

Then, the government's bulldozing of shacks of black migrant workers who were living illegally near Cape Town upset usually conservative whites, not ordinarily inclined to protest on behalf of blacks. The bulldozing was arbitrarily done in winter.

Then a fortnight ago, black leader Steve Biko died in detention and the reaction was electric, from blacks, from white liberals, and from the white right. In the coming week, the black name has appeared every day in the press, usually on page one.

The death of this man, initially unknown to most whites and blacks, has brought much of white thinking to its present pitch. It has shown the communications chasm yawning between the races, so deep that South Africa, as now known could be rent by it.

Prime Minister Vorster denied that Mr. Biko's death and the outcry following it had in any way caused him to call the elections.

Curiously, it was the "impassiveness or ostensible lack of feeling by Minister of Justice and Police James Kruger, which in the end shook the government into action.

In a sentence that will long ring in people's memory, Mr. Kruger said, "Biko's death leaves me cold."

When Mr. Kruger subsequently went on television and talked about Mr. Biko he appeared hunched and unsure, according to many who watched him.

Then, last week Mr. Kruger struck again.

How to keep a writer in his place

By Gerald Priestland
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

The British have always believed in starving their artists, on the grounds that feeding only encourages them to make a nuisance. Lately the correspondence columns of the Times have been loud with the baying of hungry authors, and with stern cries of "Down, sir! Down!"

If began with David Holbrook (a writer noted for his campaigns against pornography and "filthiness"), wistfully noting that the writers who work for the Daily Mirror group were toying languidly with the notion of accepting £174 for a 34-hour week. (Not as much as some typists), by the way, who enjoy up to £1250 a week.)



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A hungry writer makes his own bed

Gromyko and Vance struggle to keep the lid on arms race

SALT agreement soon to expire

By Joseph C. Harsch

Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union came to Washington this past week for another round of talks with Cyrus Vance of the United States. They will continue their talks this week at the United Nations in New York. They are on a mutual quest.

Their immediate task is to find a formula that will head off, if possible, any immediate step-up in the nuclear weapons race. Present agreements expire Oct. 3. In theory, at least, the lid will be off after that date unless something new can be devised to take their place. It is generally agreed that the only possible immediate step will be a short-term continuation of present agreements that fix the number of nuclear warheads each is allowed to aim at the other across the oceans.

A short-term extension of existing agreements would permit Moscow and Washington

Commentary

to do more homework on the problem of trying to reconcile their individual needs and interests. The problem is difficult. Both what is wanted by the same name, SALT II, meaning a second round of agreements limiting numbers and kinds of nuclear weapons in their respective arsenals. But what Moscow wants is radically different from what Washington wants.

Moscow wants security against all of the nuclear weapons now in the hands of the United States and of its allies in Western Europe. But even that would not be enough. It also wants security against the nuclear weapons possessed by the Chinese, who now have an estimated "several hundred" intermediate-range ballistic missiles that are deployed and capable of reaching most parts of the Soviet Union. In Moscow, eyes, "parity" or "equivalence" would mean having in hand as much nuclear weaponry as everyone else in the world put together.

But that is not at all that anyone in Washington wants, or could possibly accept. To give the Soviets what they think would mean security for themselves would mean that they, the Soviets, would have more nuclear weapons than the United States. That would translate into American political rhetoric as allowing the Soviets to have "superiority" over the United States. That could mean a political disaster for anyone caught in any such "giveaway."

What the United States wants is to have the

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CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

As the struggle between black nationalists and white Afrikaners intensifies, other South Africans, white and nonwhite, remain uninvolved — but not unaffected.

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FOCUS

Farmers trade tractors for horses

By Richard J. Cattani

Waverly, Iowa
Draft horses are plowing their way back onto the U.S. agricultural scene.

At Andy Mast's harness shop in the Amish settlement at Hazelton, Iowa, work-horse gear is selling so briskly that the proprietor and his three helpers are struggling to keep up with the demand. Orders for "heavy horse" harness leather, collars, traces, bits, and bridles are arriving from as far away as Oregon and Maine.

"The interest in draft horses now is really something," says the reserved Amish craftsman whose business has increased by more than half during the past five years.

The Amish have played a unique role in the revival of work horses, according to Maurice Tolcen of Waverly, editor of The Draft Horse Journal. While the rest of American farmers were selling off "hay-burners" and buying tractors after World War II, the Amish settlers kept their draft and driving teams working. Today the energy crisis, higher fuel costs, and interest in organic farming have combined to

reawaken interest in original horsepower.

Of the estimated 8.5 million horses in the U.S., about one-fourth are farm horses. This total is down from 14 million horses in 1940, when almost all were work horses. But it reflects a comeback from the horse population of 3.2 million in 1959, year of the last U.S.D.A. horse census.

Not only are there more horses today, but also the quality of the stock is much improved. In 1968 the 14 registered breeds numbered 139,000. This reached 212,000 by 1975. Among the heavy breeds, 1,750 Belgians were registered last year compared with 400 a few years ago. And the number of Percherons registered last year was up 25 percent.

In Nebraska's sand-hill country, farmer Buck Buckles is taking in another 700 tons of hay this summer by working 20 horses daily on his vast 67,000-acre ranch. In north-west Iowa, farmers Mike Jassen and Arnold Hockett now hay and plant corn with their teams of Belgians and Percherons, reserving other chores for tractors. Draft horses today are widely used in Wisconsin for

dairy herd chores, and in Ontario, Canada, to cultivate tomatoes.

In Iowa's Hazelton Amish settlement of some 150 families, each household keeps about six horses to work an average-size farm of 120 acres and to drive their buggies — a picture reflected in Amish settlements in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana.

In New England and the mid-Atlantic region, smaller and hilly farms have seemed best suited for draft horse use.

Not all of today's work-horse population is working. Many wealthy farmers now keep them as a hobby, or breed them for profit.

But backers of hayburners say they are more efficient than tractors for many purposes. The annual feed costs value of \$1,000 a head is largely offset by savings in gasoline or diesel fuel, by the value of hay and seed that animals help to cultivate, the manure that is recovered for fertilizer, and the \$400-\$500 per head income that calls command at auctions.

Although tractor owners have better tax write off terms. There is little tax reward for the economies of draft horses, according to their owners. A good team can put in a dozen years of work in the fields and, equipment often lasts for decades — far longer than the expensive powered equipment on which modern farm credit and tax systems are geared.

Is street crime nurtured by TV?

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Violence on television leads to violence in the streets — or does it? The whole vexed question is on the table again, and the fact that common sense believes the connection to exist, doesn't make it any easier.

The debate has been fanned by Dr. William Benson, Reader in Research Methods at North-east London Polytechnic. In a paper to the British Association, Dr. Benson described how — with finance from America's Columbia Broadcasting System — he investigated the effect of watching violent TV programs upon a sample of 1,500 London boys.

The conclusion was that long-term exposure to TV violence does increase the extent to which teenage boys engage in violence themselves. Boys who watch a lot of TV violence are 50 percent more likely to commit acts of violence than boys who do not automatically switch on the set after getting home from school.

Examples given by the boys ranged from kicking others to sabotaging an enemy's bicycles and (in one case) attempted rape. 7.5 percent had committed serious acts of violence.

Dr. Benson told the British Association that he was not suggesting television alone was responsible, or that other factors were not equally involved. But it was possible that with the long-term consumption of violence, the behavior of boys was changing without their being aware of it. He thought that on the evidence, parents ought to stop their children watching such programs as "Starsky & Hutch" and "Cannon."

Dr. Benson's report was given a courteous welcome by the BBC, which promised to consider its implications carefully. It was also welcomed by Mary Whitehouse, the "clean up TV" campaigner. Monica Sims, head of BBC television children's programs, said she hoped television would be given credit for its good influences as well as its supposed bad ones. And she pointed out that a BBC ban on showing skateboards in use, at the request of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents, had not had the slightest effect on the popularity of skateboards.

Dr. Benson's views confirm those of researchers and scientists like Sir Martin Roth, Professor of Psychiatry at Cambridge, who maintains that what television has done is to establish aggressiveness as a desirable characteristic of the sexually attractive young man. It has also, he thinks, blunted people's sensitivity to violence by making it commonplace. But soon after Dr. Benson's lecture, there came the first of several counterexamples. A

Home Office research paper by Mr. Stephen Brody said there was no clear evidence that violence on the TV or cinema screen led to violent behavior by its audiences. There was some evidence that watching violence on the screen actually helped viewers to reduce their feelings of tension and hostility. Psychologically, it let off steam. The Home Office report argued that it was not enough for children simply to watch violence. Before they look any action they also had to feel angry about something.

Mr. Brody wrote: "Social research has not been able unambiguously to offer any firm assurance that the mass media in general, and film and television in particular, either excite a socially harmful effect or that they do not."

And there has been criticism of Dr. Benson's survey methods. It is argued that he made the error of allowing the 1,500 boys to make their own assessments of themselves, thus encouraging them to pretend they were tougher than they actually were. (Dr. Benson insists he made careful checks on their reliability.) The critics also said he had made the error of assuming that because violent action had followed violent viewing, the latter must have caused the former. He had not made proper allowance for other factors. (This again Dr. Benson denies.)

Letters have been pouring in to editors saying that of course the doctor must be right — the letter writers have been saying the same for years and it's only common sense. If television can be used so successfully to sell soap, it must follow that it spreads violence with equal success.

Communications scientists have been pointing out, however, that not so long ago it was "common sense" that bleeding a patient cured disease, that witches could will bad luck, and that the earth was flat. And they point out there is a great difference between deliberately and explicitly selling soap — openly, in the viewer's face — and simply showing scenes of violence. No one has yet come up with an instance of a TV announcer gazing into the camera and declaring: "I always punch my neighbor on the jaw. Why don't you try it tomorrow?"

Further, it is argued, earlier ages of history have been quite as violent as ours — even more so — without the benefit of television, or even a newspaper.

The biggest single study of television and violence, made by the Surgeon General of the United States, concluded that any relationship between the two was "modest"; and that while violent children might be stirred up by violent television, it was not necessarily the television that had made them violent.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

geon General's massive, million dollar survey was a study done by a team under J. McLeod. This indicated that in homes where the parents encouraged gentle behavior and discouraged violence, watching violent TV had little effect. It was in tough homes where parents flocked their own children about that the TV appeared to have some effect.

In short, it was largely a matter of how parents brought their children up. All round, and social research in Britain seems to confirm that violent criminals have commonly been subjected to violence themselves during childhood.

Which is not to deny that violent TV may trigger off violent outbursts among this minority, or to claim that there is nothing to be said in favor of eliminating violent scenes. Realistic violence must surely be distasteful to civilized viewers, and has long been so to believers in nonviolence. But it is being pointed out that to treat TV as a scapegoat, to blame it for public violence, while neglecting deeper causes like alienation and injustice, is to ride on false hope.

Mr. Renny is a British journalist based in London.

Bonn: terrorism becomes a political issue

Party truce weakened as kidnapping dragged on

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
The West German Government is continuing its flexible approach in trying to save the life of kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer. But the political unity forged by this crisis is beginning to show signs of strain.

The government is still conducting secret negotiations with the left-wing anarchists who abducted the Employers' Federation president two weeks ago. And it has deliberately sent out contradictory signals about whether it would or would not meet the kidnappers' demand for release of 11 convicted terrorists and suspects.

Most observers seem to believe, however, that the government has no intention of freeing the prisoners and is only prolonging the negotiations in order to forestall the abductors' threatened murder of Mr. Schleyer.

In the initial stage of the crisis, all parties have cooperated, joining in the top-level "crisis staff" and more or less refraining from partisan charges. Even the sometimes controversial weekly Der Spiegel gives Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt high marks for his leadership so far. It praises his flexible tactics and notes the rallying of the conservative opposition to the common cause of all democrats against terrorism.

Der Spiegel asks how long this political truce can go on, however. It sees the conservative opposition as chafing to attack the socialist-liberal government as too permissive.

In the conservative definition, the issue is one of law and order. Without quite naming names, Christian Democrat leader Helmut Kohl is now publicly accusing the Social Democrats of being soft on terrorists. Legally, the conservatives are pressing for adoption of stricter curbs on rights and privileges of convicted and suspected terrorists. Emotionally, some conservatives are tarring left-wing Social Democrats with the terrorists' brush.

In the socialist-liberal definition, the crucial issue is quite different. Haunted by the memory of the Nazi erosion of civil



Sven Simon

West German police look for clues at the scene of the Schleyer kidnapping

rights, the ruling coalition argues that society must be defended above all from improper coercion of individuals by a hysterical majority. It warns against "panic" and against "rightist firebrands" who toy with the emotions of a worried public.

Despite his own cautions, Mr. Schmidt is not deaf to the opinion polls that show the man in the street overwhelmingly in favor of tough antiterrorist measures. In a recent speech that has disturbed his classically liberal Free Democrat allies, the Chancellor chastised "extreme liberals" and any "anarcho-liberal attitude" that confuses individual with egotistical interests.

The whole problem of controlling terrorism without creating a police state has elicited considerable foreign, as well as domestic, reaction. West German President Walter Scheel has

publicly objected to the automatic assumption in some foreign quarters that West Germany now is repeating Nazi history.

"People insult the dignity of this democracy if they impute fascist or proto-fascist traits to it," Mr. Scheel contended. "As President of this state, in the name of the German people, I firmly protest such imputations."

All the political parties now seek to save a society they see threatened by anarchist terrorism on the Left and by self-destruction of democratic values on the Right. In practice, the various counterterrorist proposals that Parliament will debate next week may not be too far apart.

The rhetorical gap is growing, however. And once the dissonance imposed by the immediate kidnapping crisis is removed, the rhetorical and political gap promises to grow even wider.

Nuclear salesmen discuss how to limit A-bomb knowledge

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
The hush-hush 15-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is meeting here amid West European hopes that the Carter administration has softened its opposition to the export of "proliferable" nuclear technology.

The NSG, which includes the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, and Japan, is trying to reach agreement on guidelines for the export of nuclear technology.

These guidelines would, it is hoped, make unnecessary the sharp controversies the United States has had with France and West Germany over plans to sell nuclear reprocessing plants respectively to Pakistan and Brazil.

In previous meetings, the United States, supported by Canada, has wanted stiffer curbs on exports of nuclear technology than other countries, notably France, West Germany, and Japan, would agree to. The Soviet Union, it is

said, has tended to go along with the United States.

The NSG was established on American initiative two years ago, in the wake of the concern caused by India's explosion of a plutonium nuclear device (May 18, 1974). India it was believed, had obtained the plutonium from a research reactor supplied by Canada, which had been helping the Indian nuclear program on the understanding that it would be for peaceful purposes only.

All members of the group share the basic objective of preventing nuclear proliferation. But there is wide disagreement over how to achieve this goal. The United States wants the export of nuclear technology itself to be severely circumscribed. The West Europeans and the Japanese say that safeguards on the use of this technology should suffice.

A meeting of the minds on this question is essential to completing work on guidelines for export of nuclear technology, a task that has preoccupied the NSG for its past several meetings.

A recent American agreement with Japan

indicates that President Carter may be softening his stand and moving closer to the view, point of his West European and Japanese colleagues.

The agreement, reached earlier this month, enables the Japanese to start up their experimental reprocessing plant at Tokai-Mura, built with French technology.

It will also allow the Japanese to send their depleted uranium obtained originally from the United States, to France for reprocessing.

The basic argument of the West Europeans and the Japanese is that energy-short nations like themselves will have to rely heavily on nuclear energy and that, in the process of so doing, the fast-breeder reactor, which potentially "breeds" more plutonium than it consumes, offers hope of greater energy independence for themselves.

The United States, these nations say, should try to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation, not by forcing others to suspend fast breeder programs, but by working out a series of agreed safeguards to ensure that there is no diversion of plutonium from peaceful to warlike purposes.

To the West Europeans and the Japanese, the American-Japanese agreement is a sign that President Carter has accepted this argument, at least to a degree, and that work now can proceed on the all-important safeguards.

One other important topic of the Sept. 20-21 meetings will be to consider enlargement of its own membership. The secretive nature of NSG talks and the fact that the present membership consists exclusively of advanced industrialized nations of both East and West have caused great suspicion among third-world countries such as Brazil and Iran. These countries have ambitious plans for economic development; they consider nuclear technology an indispensable element in the plans; and they fear the industrialized countries may be seeking to monopolize nuclear technology by banning its export.

The best way to lift this suspicion, advocates of enlargement say, is to turn the NSG into a club for nuclear customers as well as for nuclear suppliers.

Greece: why Prime Minister Caramanlis is calling for an election

By Helen Mellas
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens
Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis has announced to opposition leaders his decision to hold elections on Nov. 20, a full year before the tenure of the present Parliament was to expire.

He disclosed this decision during separate meetings with EDEK (Center Union) leader George Pavros and PASOK (Socialist Movement) leader Andreas Papandreu on Sept. 19. He presented his views to Greece's President Constantine Tsatsos the next day.

national issues as Cyprus, the Greek-Turkish dispute and Greece's full membership in the European Common Market, which are expected to enter a decisive phase during the next year, should be faced by a government with a fresh popular mandate.

The opposition leaders have expressed, at least publicly, their readiness to go to elections but they have accused the Prime Minister of usurping the powers of the President, who constitutionally has the function of dissolving the Parliament and proclaiming new elections when the situation so warrants.

Mr. Pavros, the leader of the largest party in Parliament, stated that so many powers are exercised by the Prime Minister as to render

the country's form of government not a republic, as it is supposed to be, but a monarchy without a king. He further criticized Mr. Caramanlis for seeking a new popular mandate without citing his position on the significant national issues he is invoking.

Constantine Mitsotakis, of the recently formed Neo-Liberal Party, stated "The party of 54 percent of the votes and 215 deputies disintegrated under the load of its inability to solve the country's problems."

Political analysts maintain this year is much more auspicious for elections for Mr. Caramanlis and his New Democracy Party than a year from now. The opposition has been ineffective and unimaginative, they point out,

while pressing problems, especially the economic ones, are likely to get worse next year. Some money specialists expect an eventual devaluation of the Greek drachma.

These experts, while predicting an electoral victory for Mr. Caramanlis, also discern some problems on the political horizon. Nikos Anagnostopoulos, the New Democratic Party deputy with the highest number of votes in the 1974 elections, has announced that he will not take part in the upcoming elections, although he is relatively young and quite successful in his private life.

Some other deputies and politicians across the country's political spectrum are reported to be entertaining similar thoughts.

The Communists' plan for France

Program covers all phases of life

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Until the sudden revolt of the Left-Radical Party on Sept. 14, the clearest clue to the true nature of the Communist struggle to gain absolute control of the French economy had been a series of advertisements published on Sept. 8 and 7.

The advertisements urged everyone to study the 6 million-copy special edition of *Humanité*, the Communist daily. The publication contained the official version of the Communist plan for transferring full control of the economy to the leaders of the Communist-Socialist-Radical coalition.

The advertisements were convincingly worded. But they were not issued by the Communists.

On the contrary, they were written, signed, and paid for by one of the strongest of the French anti-Communist organizations, registered as a public service enterprise.

Figures from previous elections, confirmed by current opinion polls, do in fact appear to prove that one sector of French voters, about 20 percent, will have studied the special issue of *Humanité* and been totally convinced. However, it is also likely that another 20 percent of the voters on reading the *Humanité* plan would be shocked into voting against it.

The original basis of the plan, known as the Common Program of 1972 with the slogan "Change the life of France and live better," was jointly agreed on by the leaders of the Communist, Socialist, and Left-Radical parties.

Its 71 sections covered every phase of life from salaries and pensions through television and transport to national control of insurance and all banks.

The French railways had been nationalized under the Popular Front between the wars, and Charles de Gaulle, with the head of the French Communist Party as his first vice-president, had added the major banks, coal, electricity, gas and the Renault automobile company. The net result today is that nationalized enterprises employ 1.5 million persons, or 7 percent of all the workers of France. These enterprises create about 10 percent of the gross national product and contribute at least 25 percent of the new industrial investment each year, or about \$12 billion.

But because the government itself, with the sole power to name the responsible heads of all nationalized enterprises, is still strongly on the side of capitalism and free enterprise, the nationalizations are run very much as though they were private companies. However, they receive enormous sums as subsidies, loans, and investments. The 1977 total was \$3.8 billion.

What the split in France's left was all about

By Jim Browning
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

An open split within the three-party union of the Left has cast serious doubt over its ability to win next March's legislative elections and form a new government in France.

The break was provoked by the smallest and most intransigent of the three parties, the Radicals of the Left, and was down to continued the alliance with or without the Radicals.

The Radical leader, Robert Fabre, said he hoped his disagreements with the Communists could be solved before the elections, now just six months away.

But in many ways the rupture was the logical product of four months of increasingly bitter public dispute between the Communists and the two other parties over how to change France's economy and society if the Left does come to power.

It reflects the basic differences of philosophy and goals that have made political leaders and analysts wonder from the start whether the Socialist and Communist could realistically expect to govern together.

The specific problem was a disagreement during final top-level negotiations on updating the left-wing coalition's detailed nine-hour plan for governing France. Mr. Fabre walked out after three hours of talks and some successful compromise. He said there was no point in continuing because the Communists were

refusing to budge on several of their demands including that for sharp increases in the number of firms slated for nationalization.

The three parties immediately opened intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations to air their fears and talk back on the Communist resistance.

But the fundamental source of the dispute is widely thought to involve the distrust that has always existed between Communist and non-Communist members of the alliance.

Over the summer, in evoking the specific disagreements, Communist leader Georges Marchais has referred to his fears that the Socialists will try to govern "à la Portugaise," that is, without the Communists, as Socialist Marie-Georges Servan-Schreiber, who remains loyal to President Giscard d'Estaing though definitely hostile to the head of the largest of the other four rightist groups, the Christian Union for the Republic (CPR).

But the Left-Radicals, and in particular Robert Fabre, are absolutely solid for free enterprise. The obvious intention of the Communists, led by Georges Marchais, to gain total control of the economy was the final straw.

In a table of proposed income and expense the Communists specifically proposed to add about \$17 billion a year to the wages paid in France, \$7 billion to the old-age pensions, and \$4 billion to the family allocations, indicating that this extra \$28 billion could be found in the profits of the new nationalizations, and in "cutting but waste." The official profits of all the

companies proposed for nationalization were only \$250 million in 1978.

One new and much discussed proposal in the updating has been that no one should be allowed to receive a salary more than five times, or six times, or some other multiple, of the guaranteed minimum wage.

well in the elections, and for internal political reasons, each side wants to assure its own identity with the voters.

One leading Socialist official, Pierre Mauroy, suggested that Mr. Fabre was merely searching for emotional and tactical effect and that the dispute was not lasting. Whatever Mr. Fabre's motives, his party represents a potentially decisive 4 percent of the vote.

In France, Radical refers not to extremism, but to the old Radical Party, which has split into left-wing and centrist factions.

Officials at France's presidential palace were pleased at the Left's division. They said it supported their belief that the Socialists were out of place with the Communists, and should be part of a greater center-left majority in France.

At a press conference, Sept. 18, a somber-looking François Mitterrand rejected the argument that the left-wing union has worked seven years to build in unbreakable. He said he "deplores the situation" caused by the Radical walkout. But he added, "The difficulty of the Left is that it wants to go to the root of things to change the life of France. The advantage of the Right is that it can be satisfied with [anti-Communist] slogans in order to keep power."

Mr. Mitterrand said the basic set of principles that the Left had worked all summer to update was a good one. It defended the interests of the workers in a time of economic crisis, was worthy of support, and would be adopted and defended.

Communist leader Georges Marchais



Bandphoto
Communist leader Georges Marchais

Do Communists hope to lose?

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Is the French Communist Party, under pressure from the Soviet Union, moving the wing alliance toward defeat in next March's elections?

Stimulated by the private comments of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, political analysts have begun asking a question which many would have scoffed at just a few months ago.

Few independent observers believe that the Communists are actively trying to lose the elections, which could possibly produce a first real government of the Left since the Popular Front of 1938. But at a private meeting with a few French journalists recently, the President reportedly argued that the Soviet Union wants to see the current center-right majority remain in power.

He cited articles published recently by leading Soviet ideologues which sharply criticize the French party's brand of "Eurocommunism." Mr. Giscard d'Estaing argued that the Soviets fear a left-wing government in France would "contaminate" some of the doctrinaire East European regimes, such as Poland, with liberal ideas.

Analysts also point out that France's still-dependent diplomacy regarding détente, arms control, and human rights, as well as the French President's open criticism of President Carter earlier this summer, pleased the Soviet Union. Mr. Giscard, according to this argument, believes that despite his increased willingness to cooperate with American foreign policy, he has maintained the privileged relationship with the Soviets begun by former President Charles de Gaulle.

The French President reportedly argues that the Communist Party here is still responsive to pressure from the Soviets. Party hardliners have had some success in resisting liberalizing initiatives and their influence is still felt within the party.

"Certain [observers] are even persuaded," commented the respected left-leaning newspaper *Le Monde* recently, "that it is an external influence from Moscow which is behind the clear hardening [of position] by the French Communist Party since the start of the summer."

Analysts also have offered a variety of strictly political reasons for the Communist Party's harder line. In the face of steady Communist loss of voter strength and steady Socialist gains, the Communists have clearly felt the need to distinguish themselves from their allies.

Canary Islands: a volcano on Spain's doorstep

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Las Palmas, Canary Islands
Is Spain sitting atop a sleeping volcano?
One thousand miles south of Madrid, 800 miles from Spain's coast and 80 miles from the holy contested, phosphate-rich Western (formerly Spanish) Sahara, the seven islands that represent two provinces of Spain.

The islands, spread across 2,807 square miles, were formed years ago from spectacular volcanic eruptions.

The signs of the eruptions are still there, in Tenerife, the main port, the 12,000-foot high Teide Peak's volcano bubbles and boils, but underground. It looks alarming, but there is no serious concern.

Las Palmas's Bandama crater is 1,100 yards in diameter and 800 feet deep but it, too, is extinct.

Reviving a culture

In recent years some have claimed the Guanches, the race that peopled the islands until Spain's conquest 500 years ago, is also extinct.

But today a tiny, violent minority insists Guanche culture does exist and is trying to res-

urrect it. And there are ominous political rumblings from the economically beset islands that could have impact not only in Spain but on northern Africa and, perhaps, on the Western alliance as well.

The tourist paradise islands still are reeling from rude awakenings that began in 1973. That year the decline in tourism caused by the worldwide energy crisis made Canarians realize the fragility of their tourism-based economy.

Two years later an even ruler shock occurred. In December, 1975, Spain ceded the Western Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania, thus psychologically turning the Canaries into a lonely Spanish outpost. The islanders soon realized they were strategically vital amid Africa's post-Angola destabilization and growing Soviet-SATO rivalries.

Exports to Sahara

But many of the Canaries' 1.5 million residents were especially aghast that the "Gados" (the derogatory Canaries term for Spaniards) ceded the Western Sahara without consulting the islanders.

The reason: one-half of the Canaries' exports had gone to the Western Sahara. Those ties, which were more important than those with "the peninsula" (Spain) were lost. So

were lucrative rest and recreation stopovers by Spanish military and phosphate-mine workers stationed in the Sahara.

Oil companies based here for explorations in the Sahara wound up operations. At the same time, the islands' 17 percent unemployment rate was double Spain's national rate.

'Liberal struggle' urged

Worse, the cession of the Sahara led the fears that the islands now were exposed to Moroccan domination or even annexation, fears not lessened by Moroccan businessmen hordes who poured in amid reports alleging that King Hassan had liberally sprinkled spies in their ranks. The cession also caused Algeria, which opposes Moroccan and Mauritania on the Sahara, to use its official air waves to unleash an exiled Spanish labor leader, Antonio Cubillo.

Mr. Cubillo styles his "Movement for Self-Determination and Independence of the Canaries Archipelago" (MIPAIC) after the Algerian Liberation Front. Via Radio Free Canaries, beamed from Algiers, he urges a "liberation struggle" to set up an independent "sovereign" country, adopting a Canaries flag, and gives lessons in the defunct Guanche language — not to mention on making Molotov cocktails.

In January, Mr. Cubillo, who, the Spanish Government insists is a paid Algerian agent, stepped up his terrorism campaign. "We are going to be crueeler than our [Spanish] friends," he declared.



Italy: trial reveals how political leaders influence justice

David Willey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Italians have been treated to an unusual and undignifying spectacle in recent days.

A present and a former prime minister and a former head of the secret service took the witness stand at the most important political trial here since World War II and gave conflicting evidence.

The public prosecutor at Catanzaro, in Italy's deep south where the trial is taking place, is considering issuing criminal proceedings for false evidence against the former prime minister, Mariano Rumor, whose public image already has been considerably tarnished by his role in the Lockheed bribery scandal.

The current Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, spent seven hours explaining to the court what he knew about the activities of one of the accused, a spy called Guido Gianettini who used to work for the secret service.

The trial is the Milan bank bombing trial, in which two sets of defendants, one belonging to the extreme left wing and one to the extreme right, are charged with carrying out terrorist attacks in December, 1969, in which 18 people were killed and over 100 injured.

The actual purpose of the trial has become obscured by incredible procedural delays which have shifted the proceedings from Milan to Rome, back to Milan, and then down to Catanzaro, just about as physically far as it is possible to get in Italy from the scene of the crime.

But this month's hearings, if they failed to shed light on the responsibility for the crime, shed some fascinating if depressing light on the way government works in Italy in the 1970s.

What the judge was trying to establish was whether the government of the day in 1974 tried secretly to quash criminal investigations against the spy Gianettini on the grounds of state security. Prime Minister Andreotti told the court that the head of the secret service led to him, causing him to make a false statement to Parliament.

The former secret service chief, Gen. Vito Miceli, is now

the subject of criminal proceedings himself in connection with an alleged right-wing plot to stage a coup d'état a year after the bank bombing.

When former Prime Minister Rumor took the witness stand, he behaved in such a shifty way, prefacing almost every answer with "I can't remember," that the judge asked him to go away and see if he could not clear his mind. When he persisted in evasive answers, the judge's patience became exhausted and he asked for a transcript to be sent to the public prosecutor's office to look for grounds for perjury charges. The giving of false evidence is punishable under Italian law by imprisonment up to three years.

At a later session, former Defense Minister Mario Tanassi, also heavily implicated in the Lockheed bribery scandal, and General Miceli, also gave completely conflicting accounts of what the government knew or did not know about "superspy" Gianettini. It is unlikely, however, that charges of giving false evidence will be pressed against any of the ministerial witnesses, as they all enjoy parliamentary immunity — that is to say, Parliament has to authorize any request for criminal proceedings against them.

This is the first time in recent history that Cabinet ministers have been called upon to give evidence without being able to plead state security.

A recent constitutional court decision narrowed the possibility of pleading state security to a request from the judiciary to disclose confidential state documents or to question ministerial witnesses. But notwithstanding the patience and ability of the judge, it has become evident that Italy's political ruling class is quite capable of perverting the course of justice in the interest of their own, if not the state's, security.

India turns to France for nuclear help

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

India may lean heavily on France to help put the finishing touches on its nuclear fast-breeder reactor program in the face of U.S. opposition.

On July 15, India pledged not to go ahead with a second test of a nuclear device (the first was in 1974). It was a key concession to the Carter administration, which is opposed to the spread of nuclear technology.

But the announcement coincided with the arrival here of a shipment of enriched uranium that the U.S. had long been withholding for the nuclear power station at Tarapur. And observers now are suggesting that this was a tactical move to gain time so that the fast-breeder reactor program can take off with French help. India, it is stressed, has not surrendered the "nuclear option."

France stepped into the nuclear picture here as Canada was bowing out in 1974. India reportedly has offers of French help in the mining of certain radioactive ores that are plentiful in this country and in the design of two reprocessing plants.

India's pledges to the U.S. thus may help ensure the continued supply of fuel for Tarapur until three other plants — at Madras, at Narora, and at Kolsa — are completed. At that time, this country likely will be almost self-sufficient in all aspects of nuclear technology, including fuels.

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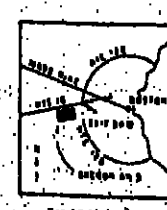
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Koch: frugality for New York

Winning Democratic primary is tantamount to winning November election

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York's probable next mayor is a frugal, hard-working bachelor who has made it abundantly plain that he expects the city's municipal workers to be equally frugal and hard-working.

In selecting Congressman Edward I. Koch as the Democratic nominee in the November mayoral election, voters brushed aside the sort of heavy union opposition that once made or broke mayoral candidates here.

Instead, a comfortable majority of Democrats opted for the man whose overriding campaign theme has been the need for self-restraint, efficiency, and austerity in this financially strapped metropolis. In a heavily Democratic city like New York, winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to eventual election, barring a major political upheaval.

At the same time, the Democratic voters thumbed their noses at the exports and chose a little-known young woman as their candidate for another of the three top city jobs, council president. Assuming she is elected in November, state Sen. Carol Bellamy will become the first woman to hold city-wide office here.

The selection of Miss ("I'm a child of the '60s") Bellamy over incumbent Paul O'Dwyer, coupled with Congresswoman Bella Abzug's defeat in the Sept. 1 mayoral primary, seems to confirm voters' desire for new faces to lift the city out of its turmoil and decay rather than any sudden surge of conservatism. Miss Bellamy, explained one New Yorker, "is what people would like Bella Abzug to be."

The three-stage mayoral race is not yet over. After coming in first in the Sept. 1 Democratic primary against six opponents and all predictions, Mr. Koch has beaten New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo convincingly in the Sept. 19 run-off. But Mr. Cuomo will likely remain on the November ballot as the Liberal Party nominee.

The slim hopes of the Republican nominee, State Sen. Roy Goodman, hinge on Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Koch splitting the Democratic-Liberal vote between them. But the solid and unspectacular Mr. Goodman is likely to lose rightist votes to the fast-talking and flamboyant Conservative Party nominee, former radio talk show host Barry Farber.

Mr. Cuomo's showing in November now appears to rest largely on whether Gov. Hugh Carey, who launched him into the campaign to scuttle Mayor Abraham Beame's re-election, stays vigorously and publicly with him. Since the Mayor lost out in the primary, the Governor has stepped back from active pro-Cuomo campaigning and started talking instead in terms of "conciliation."

In effect, the Governor already has "won." He has skillfully protected his political flanks for his own re-election next year whether his old congressional chum "Ed" Koch or "my friend Mario" ends up in City Hall. Whoever ends up commuting from Grace Mansion to City Hall will face staggering problems and a need to unite citizens behind the hard task of tackling them.

An early setback in this regard was the clear — and for New York unusual — ethnic partisanship displayed in the run-off voting. While Jews backed Mr. Koch by more than 2 to 1, a similar ratio of Catholics rallied behind the Italian-American Mr. Cuomo. But Jewish voters turned out in greater numbers, and Mr. Koch also had an edge among Hispanic



Edward Koch: seen as New York's next mayor

voters and a slight edge among black voters. The city's financial travails, too, were underlined last week with reports that a long-awaited effort to get the city back into the public credit market for the first time since 1975, had been further delayed. The new snag is the need for additional note guarantees that require state legislation.

At present the city, including its Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) has \$12.68 billion in debt — almost as great as its \$13.88 billion annual budget. The budget itself has grown a whopping 15 percent over the past 10 years from \$5.38 billion in 1967-68.

According to the Citizens Budget Commission, welfare takes the largest slice of the city's budget funds — a cool \$3 billion, a good part of which is reimbursed by federal and state governments. Welfare costs have soared by 230 percent in 10 years.

Debts don't faze most Americans

By Lucia Mount
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Budget Director Bert Lance is not the only American who grapples with personal credit problems.

In this credit age, U.S. consumers owe an estimated \$200 billion on the cars they drive, furniture they sit on, and the television sets they watch.

And the problem is that they aren't paying off these bills the way they used to. Each year tens of thousands of Americans go bankrupt. Many others falsify their identification or move and leave no forwarding address. Some simply forget to pay their bills.

In the last five years the number of bad checks circulating in the United States has doubled, according to Federal Reserve figures. Grocery stores, which now cash more checks than banks do, lost \$63 million in bad checks last year, according to a U.S. Department of Commerce survey.

The situation has reached the point where hospitals, utilities, retailers, and other businesses absorb an estimated \$1 billion in losses from bad checks and credit-card fraud every year.

Getting people to pay up is getting tougher, too. The American Collectors Association (ACA), whose member groups handle only the most difficult cases, reports that the rate of recovery declines every year. Currently they are able to collect from only 27 percent of those whose accounts they are given.

John W. Johnson, ACA executive vice-president, says that the recovery rate was closer to twice that figure when he joined the association two decades ago. In Mr. Johnson's view the reluctance to pay up is directly attributable to a "slow deterioration of morals" and a "declining sense of personal responsibility."

"Real credit cheats are few and far between," insists Robert Gibson, president of the National Foundation for Consumer Credit.

Credit grantors are tightening up on their rules as a result of the collection problem. Many professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, now request cash from their clients, and many hotels now insist on a credit card or cash in full before a guest ever lays his head on a hotel pillow.

Many more who offer credit are turning over the collection chore to private agencies. Officials in Memphis, Tenn., and Buffalo, New York, have used such agencies to collect traffic fines, and Jackson, Miss., officials have done the same with city sewer and water bills.

Even the U.S. Office of Education, which has its own collection staff of 106 people but faces a growing default rate on student loans, now is seeking bidders who will help collect the more than \$400 million in bad debts run up under the federally insured student loan program.

Past and future legislative protection for borrowers, however, makes the job of persuading people to pay their bills increasingly difficult, according to those in the collecting business.

The new Fair Debt Collection Practices Act for instance, which President Carter will sign in the Rose Garden Sept. 20, outlaws threats, harassment, and false representation by collection agencies. While ACA supports the legislation, Mr. Johnson, the ACA vice-president, says the organization would have welcomed a balancing clause to protect the industry against verbal and physical abuse by consumers.

The bottom line is that the bills somehow must be paid, usually in the form of higher prices. Recently ACA calculated the amount written off as bad debts by credit grantors on tax returns to be \$30 a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States.



For Coretta King: a UN job

'Amazing that poor have not erupted,' says Mrs. Martin Luther King

By Gary Thatcher
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta
The newest member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, Coretta Scott King, says full employment is "the No. 1 issue," both domestically and internationally. In the United States, a "grass-roots movement" similar to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s will press for a planned national economy that guarantees a job for every willing worker.

Mrs. King, the widow of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., made these comments in an interview following the announcement she will join another civil rights activist, Ambassador Andrew J. Young, as part of this nation's official UN delegation.

Mrs. King, like Mr. Young, promises to be an outspoken representative. While expressing her gratitude for the UN appointment — made by President Carter — she charged that the U.S. is "the only industrial nation in the West that hasn't dealt with this problem [of unemployment]. . . . Germany's done it, Japan's done it, Sweden's done it."

Failure to reckon with unemployment in the U.S. not only tarnishes this nation's image abroad, but also threatens domestic stability, she adds. "It's simply amazing that the poor and disadvantaged of this nation have not already erupted," Mrs. King says.

Coretta King is echoing what a number of black leaders have been arguing — that even though most of the obvious forms of segregation in the U.S. have vanished, blacks still are not participating fully in the American economic system.

Blacks and the poor were discouraged and relatively quiescent during the past eight years of Republican leadership. She says, "Black people and poor people suffered a lot under Mr. Nixon."

Now with a Southern Democrat in the White House, Mrs. King predicts a rebirth of the social activism of earlier years. In 1977, however, unemployment has replaced segregation as the targeted social ill.

She draws parallels between the push for full employment (through passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced

Growth Act) and the drive for an end to segregation.

First: the formation of a national organization in the 1960s — the Southern Christian Leadership Conference — headed by her late husband. Now in the 1970s, it is the National Committee for Full Employment, which she co-chairs.

Next: the systematic exertion of political pressure. In the 1960s, heavily black districts were chosen for voter registration drives. These campaigns were aimed at increasing the number of black elected officials. Now, black leaders as well as labor unions are targeting districts with constituencies considered more than 40 percent either black or liberal in order to elect congressmen who will support full employment legislation.

Finally, there is the possibility of "demonstrations, marches, economic sanctions, civil disobedience" — but only "as a last resort," Mrs. King adds.

"I hope it won't come to that," she says. "But I think there are still people who don't understand the power of people and numbers."

Atlantic City becomes real-life Monopoly board

By Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlantic City
"It's playing a real-life game of Monopoly." With these words, William Eames, managing director of the Greater Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, captures the essence of the agitated wheeling and dealing in the city as it prepares for the debut as early as next March of gambling casinos.

Already, some of the big winners — and early losers — from the construction of between one and two dozen casinos are emerging.

Real estate agents, landowners, hotel conglomerates, lawyers, and the airlines have benefited or expect to benefit from Atlantic City's legalized gambling. The early losers are this resort city's small businessmen, who have seen their rents skyrocket in recent months.

An unexpected beneficiary of last November's referendum permitting casino gambling here is the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), which owns most of the city's municipal airport at Pomona, New Jersey. (Atlantic City owns only 79 acres of the 5,000-acre airport, in the immediate vicinity of the terminal.)

An FAA spokesman at the airport, the site of the agency's National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center, said it would lease space to Atlantic City's convention hall and rights to parking beneath the hall, according to the Chamber of Commerce. The special concessions were inducements to get the con-

pay the federal government a landing fee," the spokesman added.

Allegheny Airlines already holds a certificate from the Civil Aeronautics Board to land at the field. And six other airlines now have petitioned the board to run scheduled service to the FAA-operated airport.

Topping the list of those "cleaning up" in the private sector, even before the first casino gambling chip hits a green felt table, are local real estate agents.

"Real estate agents have made a killing," says Mr. Eames. "There have been so many land sales recently the bookkeepers can't keep up with them."

And the profits landowners have reaped and expect to reap might astonish the most adept Monopoly players.

For instance, the Ambassador Hotel at 2831 Boardwalk was purchased by a lawyer, a car dealer, and other Atlantic City residents for some \$900,000 in July, 1976. The owners of the hotel now are asking \$11 million for the property, according to Elias Naame, one of the hotel's owners and an attorney for the Guarantee Bank in Atlantic City.

Playboy Enterprises, Inc., of Chicago appears to be another early winner. Included in the sale of a parcel of land for a new Playboy hotel are access rights "by direct passageway, to Atlantic City's convention hall and rights to parking beneath the hall," according to the Chamber of Commerce. The special concessions were inducements to get the con-



Along the Boardwalk, Atlantic City, N.J.

Before the casinos arrive, wheeling-dealing begins

glomerate to build a 664-room hotel and casino complex.

Although most of those interviewed felt that state officials will keep organized crime from even indirect ownership of casinos, at least one local citizen says there is no way to keep criminal elements from infiltrating Atlantic City businesses.

"Organized crime is going to take a strong hold on the small businessman and I don't think the state or the city can do a thing about it," radio personality Stu Sacks told the Monitor.

Small businesses such as T-shirt shops, candy stores, and restaurants already feel the economic pinch of rent increases.

Just a question of finance By 1985 jets won't wake up the neighbors

By Lucia Mount
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
That piercing roar of overhead jets that interrupts many a conversation and TV program — and sometimes sound sleep is scheduled to be significantly "muffled" over the next eight years.

The switchover to quieter aircraft engines by 1985, ordered by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), is expected to cost between \$8 billion and \$8.8 billion. Under legislation about to be introduced in Capitol Hill, airline passengers would pick up much of the tab, but apparently without noticing the dent in their wallets.

A widely supported bill sponsored by Rep. Glenn M. Anderson (D) of California introduced by his House aviation subcommittee Sept. 20 would help airlines fund the change to quieter engines through a 2 percent surcharge on passenger tickets. But most travelers would not notice the increase because the proposal calls for redirecting part of the 8 percent federal tax on airline tickets, now collected rather than increasing it.

Almost 80 percent of all commercial planes now flying in the United States do not yet meet

1969 FAA noise standards. The safety agency has given older planes until 1985 to quiet down by soundproofing or be replaced by less-noisy models. But the problem of meeting such noise standards have been more one of money than technology.

The Anderson bill's clear emphasis is on helping airlines buy new-technology aircraft. (The proposed surcharge could pay as much as 50 percent of the anticipated cost.)

But some legislators, such as Rep. M. G. (Gene) Snyder (R) of Kentucky have called the legislation a "jobs bill" and a "ripoff" on grounds that many of the planes probably would have to be replaced by 1985 or thereafter anyway.

Airport operators such as James T. Murphy, director of FAA's metropolitan Washington airport, generally are pleased with the Anderson bill, and see it as a sign of help at a time when they most need it.

Hickory May, director of environmental programs at the Airport Operators Council International, says he thinks airport officials would be hit with fewer suits and have stronger grounds for defense with the new legislation. "It's a matter of hoping for the best," he says.

One important part of the House bill is a dollar provision to help local communities attack

airplane noise by better planning, by soundproofing local buildings, such as hospitals and schools, and by buying up property along flight paths.

People who live near busy airports and along flight paths have repeatedly made it clear, particularly during the open-window seasons, that few sounds grate harder on the urban ear than the rumble of an overhead jet. Complaints about Washington's in-town national airport, according to the FAA's Mr. Murphy, have doubled over the last year.

Most airport operators, who have taken the brunt of the complaint and paid out more than \$5 million in property damage claims over the last five years, have tried to solve the noise problem by erecting free sound barriers along flight paths, imposing nighttime curfews, buying up property around airport, and requiring pilots to change flight procedures so they stay higher longer when flying in and climb faster flying out.

Most National Airport flights now follow the path of the Potomac River as much as possible. National Airport officials had hoped to scatter the effects of the noise so it would be less concentrated for those on the edge of the river, but in a series of six citizen meetings this spring the newly affected residents made it clear they wanted no part of the change.

'Messages from outer space' turn out to be secret U.S. satellites

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Russian scientists once thought it was a signal from another world, but Canadian radioastronomers know better. The "something" that is interfering with their observations of the cosmos are three United States satellites on secret missions.

Just as optical astronomers have had to flee the interfering glow of city lights, so radioastronomers seek out "radio quiet" channels for their observations. But when that quiet is broken by satellites passing overhead, observations are interrupted.

To John Galt and his colleagues at the Dominion Radio Astrophysical Observatory in British Columbia, the U.S. satellite transmissions are interrupting their work in violation of the intent, if not the letter, of international agreement. Such interference also shows the need for greater protection of the frequency bands reserved for study of radio waves emitted by interstellar gas, galaxies, and other cosmic objects.

There are three such satellites, Dr. Galt says, broadcasting so close to the "main channels" reserved for radio astronomy that his observatory can't use the full width of the channels for observations.

Moreover, he adds, the spillover interference ruins between five and seven minutes of data in every hour and a half of observing time. Since the type of observations made depend on

long data runs on many details of distant objects, the radioastronomers find the loss annoying. "If there were 30 satellites instead of 3, so that one was always above our horizon, we would have to give up," Dr. Galt says.

The satellites in question were launched from the United States Western Test Range on April 30, 1976. The International Telecommunications Union lists their purpose as "experimental ocean surveillance," and the Aeronautics and Space Report of the President (1976) gives their objective as "development of spaceflight techniques and technology." The Department of Defense merely says their "mission is classified."

The satellites' broadcast frequencies are right on the edge of the restricted band radioastronomers consider the most important band set aside for their science.

Therein lies the issue. As the Department of Defense points out, the satellites do not broadcast within the restricted band. But Dr. Galt and his colleagues argue that the broadcasts are so close they interfere unnecessarily with observations. Also, since they are in a band designated for use by surface units, with no mention of use in space, the Canadians think the use of this band by satellites violates an implied intent to avoid crowding the restricted band.

This is a debatable legal point. Richard Dow of the National

Academy of Sciences, who works with the Committee on Radio Frequencies (the relevant research committee), says the transmissions may be entirely legal if they violate no explicit prohibition. Nevertheless, he notes that American radioastronomers would have sympathy for the Canadians.

Radioastronomer Frank Drake of Cornell University agrees. He says there is great concern to preserve frequency bands for astronomy in spite of increasing competition from other would-be users.

In general, Dr. Drake says, satellite users have been scrupulous about avoiding interference. But intelligence satellites have occasionally caused trouble. In order to discourage interception of their messages, they tend to spread their signals over a wide band that looks like radio noise.

He recalls that, some years ago, Soviet radioastronomers picked up a strange signal. When both Soviet and American authorities denied having any satellites emitting such a signal, "the astronomers thought for while that they had a message from another civilization," Dr. Drake says. "But ultimately it turned out to be one of ours."

Fortunately, he adds, there has been relatively little interference with radioastronomy so far. But the Canadian experience shows that international frequency allocation teams still have work to do.

The gaps are wide and it's no secret

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Israel, on the diplomatic offensive, is bringing its admittedly wide differences with the United States into the open.

When Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin came to Washington two months ago, he accused the press of exaggerating U.S.-Israeli differences. That also was his contention when U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance visited Israel last month.

But now Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan is in the U.S. — making no attempt to hide what he describes as the "wide gaps" that exist between the U.S. and Israel over the essentials of a final Middle East settlement.

Some observers see in Mr. Dayan's remarks an implicit threat of a public battle with President Carter, with the help of the powerful pro-Israel lobby in the United States, at a time when much of Mr. Carter's "political capital" is being expended to secure ratification of a new Panama Canal treaty.

The Israelis might argue that going around Mr. Carter and appealing directly to the American public — and the Jewish community in particular — would be fair because Mr. Carter once threatened to go directly to

the Israeli public if he felt Israel's leaders were blocking attempt to secure a settlement.

In an interview with Time magazine last month, President Carter said that should a "particular leader" — and here he clearly meant Prime Minister Begin — find his position on a peace settlement in direct opposition to the position of the other parties, the President would try to marshal behind him public opinion around the world, including that of the leader standing in opposition to him. This was seen as a clear threat to go around Mr. Begin to his own people should he oppose a settlement agreed upon by the U.S., the Arabs, and the Soviet Union.

Since that threat was uttered, the differences between the United States and Israel have grown more acute, even as the United States appeared to be narrowing some of its differences with the Arabs over how to approach both a peace conference and a final Middle East settlement.

Israel has been thrown on the defensive by this narrowing of differences between the Arabs and Americans, but the United States' increasing emphasis on the "Palestinian question," and by some behind-the-scenes questioning within the American Jewish community of the apparently hard-line policies of Prime Minister Begin on new West Bank settlements.

In a press conference following his talks here with President Carter and Secretary of State Vance, Foreign Minister Dayan stressed a new theme of apparent flexibility on the settlements question. He said that it is not the settlements that will determine where future borders will be located, but negotiated borders that will determine which settlements are to remain and which are to be removed. Mr. Dayan also reaffirmed Israel's willingness to allow Palestinians to participate in a Jordanian peace delegation without asking whether those Palestinians were "sympathizers of the PLO" (the Palestine Liberation Organization).

But when it came to U.S. and Arab proposals for the establishment of a "Palestinian homeland" based on an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, it was clear, according to Mr. Dayan, that the U.S. and Israel find themselves at odds. If Mr. Dayan's comments were an indication, the U.S. is sticking to its position that Israel should withdraw from the West Bank of the Jordan, up to the 1967 lines, with only "minor" territorial modifications to be allowed for Israel's defenses.

Foreign Minister Dayan is reported to have brought with him to Washington a detailed draft peace treaty, a letter offering a substantial withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula as well as an extremely limited withdrawal from part of the Golan Heights, and proposals to offer "substantial autonomy" — within Israeli military control — to the Arabs living on the West Bank.

Israel sources hint that this eventually would lead to some measure of Jordanian-Israeli cooperation on the West Bank. The question of formal sovereignty over the West Bank, they say, would be left open for further negotiation.

All this is not likely to please the Arabs — or the United States — given the Arab preference for an Israeli withdrawal from most if not all of the West Bank. But Israeli sources contend that "some elements" of Foreign Minister Dayan's proposals, while not likely to gain immediate acceptance, offer possibilities for future modification and negotiation.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff p.

Israel's Begin: can Dayan sell his plan to Carter?

Begin's popularity rise — stops

By Francis O'neer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The meteoric rise in Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's popularity, which marked his first two months in office, has come to a halt. It may be a temporary halt, but it is clearly there.

The reason seems to be a series of political setbacks that Mr. Begin has suffered on the home front. Fortunately for him, the opposition Labor alignment is still so disoriented since its election defeat in May that it has not yet been able to take advantage of the Prime Minister's discomfiture.

But even within the Premier's own right-wing Likud bloc there have been misgivings.

The Tel Aviv newspaper Maariv, normally devoted to Mr. Begin, accused him in a recent editorial of "a grave political blunder." The editorial referred to his announcement of a grand military parade for the nation's 30th independence day next year.

Political analysts say Mr. Begin misjudged the country's mood in planning such a parade. Public resistance soon surfaced and members of his own party said the parade would be a waste of money.

Eventually Mr. Begin agreed to submit the question to the Knesset (Parliament) where it will be given a free vote, that is, members will

not be bound by party discipline. The vote has yet to be taken, but by all indications a majority of the Knesset will say "no" to the parade.

In a battle with two major Jewish religious movements, Mr. Begin had to yield in the end. Under his coalition agreement with the Orthodox Agudat Israel party, Mr. Begin was committed to seek a parliamentary majority for an amendment to the law regarding conversions to the Jewish faith.

The amendment would have stipulated that only those conversions would be recognized by Israeli authorities that had been performed by Orthodox rabbis. But most American Jews belong to the Conservative and the Reform movements. A delegation of rabbis from the United States visited Israel and after successful lobbying secured a majority of Knesset members to oppose changing the present law.

In what was perhaps his most embarrassing mistake, Mr. Begin underestimated public reaction when, in his capacity as Acting Minister of Justice, he recommended to the President a pardon for imprisoned banker Joshua Benson. The banker had served only 2½ years of a 12-year term for embezzling \$47 million.

Even most of Mr. Begin's opponents concede that he acted on compassionate grounds. But observers say the Premier's usually acute sense of what is politically tolerable failed him this time.

The setbacks are not decisive. But their cumulative effect has dimmed the luster of Mr. Begin's first two months in office.

Furthermore, the Premier now faces major foreign policy challenges such as indirect talks with the Arab countries through the medium of the United States. This may make it still more difficult for him to cope with problems on the home front.

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Why Vorster is calling for an early election

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

South African Prime Minister John Vorster's surprise announcement of a general election on Nov. 30 — nearly 18 months before legally necessary — strengthens the contention that he sees himself as the "Oom Paul" Kruger of the 20th century.

"Oom Paul" was the President Kruger of the Afrikaners' South African Republic which went down to defeat at the hands of the British in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). He found himself dealing with the challenge of British imperialism at its zenith in Africa. Mr. Vorster finds himself dealing with the twin challenge of black nationalism and world (particularly U.S.) pressure for change, now pressing the Afrikaners more insistently than at any time since they regained political control of all South Africa in 1948.

"Oom Paul's" statue, dour, bearded, and in top hat, broods over Church Square in Pretoria, the strongly Afrikaner capital of South Africa. There are reports that Mr. Vorster and his National Party plan soon a constitutional change to introduce a strong executive president — as in the United States and France — into which position Mr. Vorster would move from the prime ministership. He then would don the top hat and presidential sash of office which are part of the Kruger tradition.

Mr. Vorster's calling of a November election will give him an opportunity to:

• Rally white support behind himself to face the possibility of mounting outside — and particularly U.S. — pressure for radical political

change within his country in favor of its disenfranchised black majority

• Renew his mandate before possible but grudging concessions to the United States and Britain in those two countries' ongoing efforts to move Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa) to majority rule.

• Divert attention within South Africa from the mounting wave of criticism directed against his government for its handling of the death in police custody earlier this month of black consciousness movement leader Steve Biko.

• Force the ill-organized white opposition in Parliament into an election before it has had an opportunity to stiffen its ranks in the wake of the official demise earlier this year of the longtime opposition United Party. The Progressive Reform Party — the party of longtime and often lonely government critic Helen Suzman — was expected to emerge as the new opposition when Parliament reassembled.

In making his announcement at a news conference in Pretoria Sept. 20, Mr. Vorster said it was widely believed abroad that what he had been saying about outside "meddling" in South Africa's domestic affairs did not "accurately reflect the feelings of the electorate." He continued, "Some demands go as far as to claim one-man, one-vote for the whole of South Africa," and it was now time for the electorate to add their voices to the protest of their government.

In every election since it first came to power in 1948, the governing National Party, political voice of Afrikaner nationalism, has increased its parliamentary majority. A new

Namibia: hope amid southern Africa's heat

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The most hopeful scene in southern Africa remains Namibia (South-West Africa) — although the hardest bargaining over transfer of power from white South African control to Namibia's blacks is expected in the next few weeks.

There is cause for optimism on both sides. First, South Africa has accepted the need for an internationally acceptable solution to the power turnover, according to Western diplomatic sources.

And second, the foremost black liberation movement, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), has indicated behind the scenes that it is willing to consider some kind of compromise over the presence of South African troops in Namibia.

When very serious negotiations began over Namibia earlier this year between South Africa and the contract group of five Western countries (the United States, Britain, Canada, France, and West Germany), observers thought it might be impossible to convince South Africa that any solution reached in Namibia needs to be recognized by the world, so that guerrilla fighting on the northern border can be halted and public pressure lifted.

But despite the recent flare up over South Africa's hard-line (and legally valid) stance on Walvis Bay, which is the only decent port along the Namibian coast, South Africa has shown intermittent signs of flexibility.

Much to the distress of the West, South Africa went ahead with its appointment and installation of an administrator-general for Namibia, however. The West would have liked a United Nations representative to have been appointed at the same time.

But administrator Mathinus Steyn, despite his background as a judge in one of South Africa's most "conservative" provinces, has impressed Western observers that he wants to exercise an even hand. His first statements about holding elections in Namibia without SWAPO participation, if necessary, alarmed some people.

But now Justice Steyn has publicly refused to be pressured into setting a date for an election. SWAPO says that until South African troops are moved out of Namibia any elections could not be considered free and fair.

Western diplomatic sources outside South Africa say that SWAPO is showing signs of cooperation, although it will not do so publicly, and is aware that South Africa is making concessions.

The idea has been mooted in the local press that South Africa might be willing to have some kind of UN supervision of South African troops.

Since SWAPO for years has carried on its activities primarily through the UN, this possible South African move could break the logjam.

On the ground in Namibia, meanwhile, the politics are confused. Some observers say the leader of the whites, Dirk Mudge, is on the verge of losing his possible role in a future Namibia because he has not yet separated the white National Party in Namibia from the one that rules in South Africa.

And the role of the Turnhalle bloc (a term derived from the Turnhalle constitutional talks, which were called off by South Africa earlier this year) is fuzzy. SWAPO complains that Turnhalle men are allowed to hold public meetings while SWAPO men are not.

Because Namibia is so rich in minerals and the population so small (770,000), the problem, some observers say, will be resolved simply because business interests are so heavy. Diamond mining (and Namibia's diamonds are among the best in the world) is good for another 20 years, according to informed sources.

The uranium business is booming, although the new open-face mine of Rio Tinto Zinc reportedly has run into technical difficulties.

The great task facing upcoming Western negotiations (the third round this year) is to ensure that South Africa's tendency to want an internal solution in Namibia does not outstrip and sabotage the international negotiations.

Zulu chief wants a greater voice Buthelezi: new challenge within apartheid system

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

A new black challenge to the white South African Government has been launched — a challenge that could prove as serious as the one presented by the continuing ferment in the vast black township of Soweto.

This time the challenge comes from one very powerful man, Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who has for the past seven years been operating within the framework of apartheid or legalized segregation.

Chief Buthelezi has not opted out of that system. But in long a meeting Sept. 19 with South African Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, Chief Buthelezi called for a new framework.

In a press conference afterward the chief said by that he meant majority rule in South Africa.

The chief repeated comments made to him by Mr. Kruger, who had asked for the meeting with the chief. The comments indicated the government "is on a confrontation course" with Chief Buthelezi.

The chief, who over the past year has greatly expanded his Zulu-based political organization in Inkatha, said that Mr. Kruger told him that "if I [Buthelezi] broadened the base [of Inkatha] there will be trouble."

Later the chief said: "He [Mr. Kruger] kept reiterating the threat about trouble."

The reason Mr. Kruger gave for his warning was that Chief Buthelezi was not concerned about only the Zulu homeland but about the whole country. Under the system of apartheid, Chief Buthelezi's power is technically confined to the homeland.

There are several reasons why this confrontation of the two men was crucial. One is that throughout last year, while more than 500 blacks died in political protests in South Africa, the area around Durban in Natal province, where Zulus predominate, was comparatively quiet. This was because of Chief Buthelezi's control.

After the meeting with Mr. Kruger, which lasted 2½ hours, Chief Buthelezi said, when asked if he had any hope, "I'm afraid none at all. In fact I'm very depressed."

Another reason is that there are nearly 5 million Zulus in South Africa, the biggest single ethnic group in a total black population of 18 million.

The head-on meeting between the government and Chief Buthelezi means the government is challenging a man within its own system.

This will be widely construed as meaning that the system of apartheid is breaking down on yet another front. The challenge to the system by the youth of Soweto has resulted in persistent turmoil in that vast black urban concentration and the government's control of it being in some ways in doubt.

Besides a "new framework," Chief Buthelezi also asked for a national convention of all leaders in South Africa. He said he has called for this for a long time.



'Oom Paul' Kruger statue, Church Square, Pretoria

election was not required by law until early 1979. In the last general election in 1974, the National Party won 122 seats, the United Party 41, and Progressive Party 8.

The mood of Afrikanerdom today is one of proud defiance both of the rising tide of urban black nationalism and of U.S. pressure (as Afrikaners perceive it) to give blacks the vote.

This American pressure is in their eyes "an invitation to commit suicide to avoid being murdered. (Blacks in South Africa number about 18 million, whites 4½ million.) Their instinctive reaction is to stiffen themselves and resist. In

a recent visit to South Africa, this writer found many English-speaking South Africans — outnumbered three to two by Afrikaners — reacting similarly. Of the English speakers it has been said that "they talk Prog [Progressive Party], vote UP [United Party] — but thank heavens for the Nats [National Party]."

In fact the confrontation in South Africa today is not between government and opposition in a white Parliament but between the Afrikaner nationalism which controls government and Parliament and the urban black nationalism which has no say in either.

'Missing' Americans may be living in Vietnam

Some GI's are called defectors, dropouts

By David Sharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Unconfirmed reports received in Tokyo from sources in Vietnam say an undetermined number of Americans listed officially as missing in action (MIAs) are living in various places throughout that Southeast Asian country.

They fall into two categories:

1. Defectors who passed over to Communist units to assist and fight against American units during U.S. combat involvement in the war.
2. "Psychological dropouts" who simply walked away from their units to live with tribes in the mountains, or persons who became addicted to drugs who stayed behind after the American departure.

Vietnamese Communist authorities are said to be unwilling to publicize the existence of the first group for fear of the effect on negotiations to normalize relations with the U.S.

"They are afraid it would rub salt in old wounds," says a source for the reports.

Sensitivity about the MIA issue in the U.S. is well understood by the Vietnamese, however, and they are said to be torn by their loyalty to former U.S. servicemen who collaborated with them and the demands for more information by the American MIA lobby.

Ranking Vietnamese officials also are re-

ported ready to drop the wording "war reparations," a sensitive expression to Americans, in exchange for a milder-sounding "humanitarian financial aid" or "assistance" when they next negotiate with U.S. officials.

The Vietnamese are said to think this measure will help sidestep pressure groups in the states against giving aid to their country, especially if it is termed compensation for war damage.

It is reported, too, that at least 200 lives have been lost and 300 injuries have been incurred by the Vietnamese in one agricultural sector alone just outside Hanoi from clearing operations of American ordnance dropped over the area during the war.

Many such clearing operations are under way throughout Vietnam. In one town outside Saigon (now known as Ho Chi Minh City), former South Vietnamese Army tank commanders are "voluntarily" manning bulldozers to sweep areas clear of unexploded shells, according to the reports.

The casualty rates are high. But the volunteers are said to do it to make "clean" records for themselves in order that they might speed the return to their homes. Former Viet Cong soldiers also are said to have volunteered for similar jobs.

At An Loc, one of the last fierce battlegrounds involving U.S. troops — Vietnamese claim two

American regiments were wiped out there — the site these days is said to be overgrown with grass in contrast to its moonscape-like appearance at the climax of the fighting.

Visitors to the deserted town are not allowed to step off the main road into the grass because of the massive number of shells said to be strewn throughout the former battleground.

The sources in Vietnam also report these other developments:

Although the country is nominally unified, the former South Vietnamese currency still is worth twice as much as the North's dong, which is supposed to be the official standard everywhere.

Travel from the North into the South is strictly controlled to avoid "corruptive" Southern ways rubbing off on "ideologically pure" residents of the North.

American consumer goods are still found on the Saigon black market, and the popular Western song "Yesterday" is a favorite of the Saigonese.

Prostitutes continue to roam the streets near Saigon tourist hotels.

Recalling the "baby lift" of 1975, a visitor to orphanages in the Saigon area both before the end of the war and just recently claimed there was a marked improvement in conditions compared with the past.

But food apparently is a major problem throughout Vietnam. The daily calorie intake of the average North Vietnamese is said to be one-fourth that of a European.

Desperation over the food problem reportedly has influenced the Vietnamese to go more softly on terms for accommodating a settlement with the U.S. on diplomatic recognition.

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Philippine President bends under human rights pressure, but . . .

Will Marcos dare risk an election.

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



UPI photo

Marcos — 'studying' national elections

Elections for the presidency may be included in the relaxation of the five-year-old system of martial law in the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos has announced.

The President's statement a fortnight ago came amid cautious implementation of a series of relaxations announced by Mr. Marcos last month. In response partly to human rights critics, the President then released a limited number of political prisoners, ended overnight curfews and a ban on foreign travel, and agreed to hold local elections by the end of next year.

"We must move as soon as possible for the holding of elections in the barangay [local wards], in the municipalities in the provinces, and, if necessary, for the presidency," Mr. Marcos said in his latest statement.

All this raises some fundamental questions, however: Could the President put his rule to a truly open electoral test without risking loss of control? Or would a desire to minimize that risk qualify the degree of competition the President and his supporters are willing to allow?

So far it is unclear who will be up for re-election and when. It is widely assumed that elections would be held for mayors, provincial governors, and perhaps for the 12 autonomous regional governments in this country of 42 million people. President Marcos also has said he is studying the question of when national elections might be held for a partly appointed, partly elected parliament approved in a national referendum last year.

Another unanswered question is how much freedom would be granted for election campaigning and what safeguards there would be to prevent a recurrence of election violence and other abuses that marked the pre-martial-law period.

To avoid the pre-martial-law abuses a commission on elections has drawn up a new code, and public hearings on it are to be held in the next four months. The draft code would bar vote buying and free transport and food at the polls. It would limit campaigning to a few weeks and bar use of private security guards around candidates and polling places. Campaign expenses also would be limited. All this is said to be designed to prevent the private armies that were influential before martial law from dominating new elections.

But skeptics will be waiting to see whether the final regulations limit open election com-

petition or give certain advantages, and dates aligned with the President.

Overnight curfew already has been eliminated in Manila and elsewhere, although relatively few people are reported taking advantage of the eased restrictions. But Mr. Marcos's wife, Imelda (who is Governor of Metropolitan Manila), has expressed concern over rising crime rates in the city since the 1 a.m. to 4 a.m. curfew was lifted Aug. 22. Statistics show a rise of 20 to 30 percent since then, she has told reporters.

Moreover, some village leaders reportedly have told the President that local elections could lead to frauds or offer fresh opportunity to communist guerrillas intent on causing disruptions. The President thus may have to deal not only with critics, suspicious that the elections may be a sham, but also with supporters concerned that election competition may legitimately or illegitimately undermine their positions.

Since July President Marcos is reported to have released some 1,500 prisoners from military detention. Most of these are accused criminals rounded up under martial law, although some have been arrested for alleged subversion. Many of the President's best known opponents have not been released, including former Senator Benigno Aquino.

Fukuda silent as Japan debates closer ties with China

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The security map of East Asia is changing. As American military power recedes from the Asian mainland, a quiet debate goes on among Japanese military thinkers whether and how far their country should make a compensatory tilt toward China.

Should Japan cultivate closer relations with Peking, at the risk of perhaps permanently alienating the Soviet Union? Should it rather pursue a policy of equidistance between the rulers in the Kremlin and those in the Forbidden City?

Perceptions of American intentions are a key element in the debate. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's visit to Peking broke no new ground. But was there a hint of a promise that once the Panama Canal and other troublesome issues are safely past Congress, President Carter will turn his full attention to normalizing relations with Peking?

Stronger ties urged

In a leisurely fireside chat at a hill resort north of Tokyo, a former defense minister suggested that Japan should strengthen its political and economic ties with Peking. Not as a substitute for the security treaty with the United States, but as part of an American-Japanese effort to encourage continuing confrontation between Moscow and Peking.

Some American defense thinkers incline to a similar view. One of them, in a recent background conversation, maintained that if the U.S. delayed normalizing relations too long, the new Chinese leadership might incline toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

For the U.S., the stumbling block obstructing full ties with China is Taiwan. American popular opinion will not permit the "sellout" of Taiwan to the mainland.

For Japan, which already has full diplomatic relations with Peking (as well as lucrative trade ties with Taiwan), the obstacle to further closeness is the Chinese insistence on a clause opposing "hegemony" in the proposed peace treaty between the two countries. The Chinese obviously aim this clause against the Soviet Union, an implication with which the Japanese do not want to associate themselves. Experts in the language of treaties have ways of getting around such obstacles, but there is a question of political will.

There are strong emotional arguments in Japan for closer relations with China. A cultural affinity born of Japan's millennial history of borrowings from Chinese civilization, religion, and writing systems, a guilt complex arising from Japan's invasion of China before and during World War II, a cozy perception that China, unlike the Soviet Union, does not threaten Japan's security — these combine with economic arguments that China could become a significant source of oil, coal, and other resources, as well as an important export market.

Peking seems eager

Peking itself seems eager to cultivate the Japanese defense establishment. A former Self-Defense Force chief of staff, former secretary-general of the National Defense Council, and several prominent defense commentators recently have been invited to China. Peking has proposed an exchange of sports teams with the Japanese self-defense forces — an overture that recalls the Ping-Pong diplomacy of the early Nixon years.

But if some Japanese politicians and defense thinkers incline toward closer ties with China, others counsel caution.

A former foreign minister notes that the Soviet Union is a superpower, while China is not, and that whether his countrymen like it or not, the Soviet Union is their closest neighbor.

The business community also is divided between those who see commercial advantages in close ties with China and those who dream of unlocking enormous resources frozen in the Siberian tundra.

Fukuda keeps silence

As the debate continues, Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda keeps a canny silence. He has recently returned from a highly successful tour of Southeast Asia, during which he pledged well over a billion dollars in contributions to the economic well-being of the region, at the same time emphatically rejecting any military role for his country.

He knows Peking was pleased with the tour, seeing in it one means of shutting out Soviet influence from the region. But Mr. Fukuda knows that Japanese diplomacy in East Asia must adroitly balance China and the Soviet Union while maintaining the closest links with the United States.

Until more conclusive evidence emerges regarding the stability and direction of the new Hua Kuo-fang-Tung Hsiao-ping team in Peking, the agile Japanese Prime Minister will not easily incline to one side or another of the either-China-or-Soviet debate.

(Router reported from Tokyo earlier this month that a Japanese parliamentary team had left for talks in Peking on concluding a peace and friendship treaty between the two countries, according to a Diet [Parliament] spokesman.)

(Japan and China normalized diplomatic relations in 1972, but the signing of the treaty has been held up because of Chinese insistence that the pact include a clause attacking "hegemony.")

(Japan opposes such a clause, which it sees as directed against the Soviet Union. China often accuses the Soviet Union of "hegemonism.")

U.S. and China quicker to trade than to talk

By Robert K. Brown Jr.
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

There is a big difference between the way the United States and China are proceeding on the diplomatic front and the way they do business with each other.

In fact, two-way trade is quietly and steadily improving, and persons experienced in buying and selling in China estimate conservatively that it may be worth "a couple of billion dollars into the 1980s," providing there is some diplomatic progress as well.

These are two of the points made by representatives of Wellman, Inc., a Boston-based firm that specializes in international trade in fibers and textiles and has been dealing with the Chinese since early 1972. These representatives have been to China five times this year — most recently during Secretary of State Cyrus

R. Vance's visit last month — and are scheduled to return again in October.

'They keep their word'

Wellman representatives, said Ernest J. Wright, vice-president for marketing and purchasing, see themselves as forces for improved understanding.

"We've done a lot of business with the People's Republic," he said, "and our experiences have been good. They keep their word. They have always been businesslike with us."

Alan D. Farago, the coordinator of exports for Wellman, added: "The main point we can make is that we're going on our way. With every trip we make, we become closer friends. The Chinese definitely recognize the necessity of modernization. In recent months, activity in foreign trade has picked up a great deal, and their bureaucrats are very busy."

Said Mr. Wright, "What we're really talking about is normalization of trade."

Selective modernization

Because China does not enjoy most-favored-nation status in trade with American firms, he said, there is a 60-percent duty on imported Chinese silk, which Wellman buys in large quantities. On the other hand, the same goods from a favored country like Japan are taxed at 7 percent.

In return, Wellman has been involved in selling oil recovery, mining, food packaging, and construction equipment. But Mr. Farago stressed that the Chinese are doing their modernizing selectively.

"They recognize that they are 'backward,'" he said. "But they are determined to remain self-reliant and to make foreign things serve China."

He described trading offices in Peking as veritable beehives of activity, with business deals being negotiated simultaneously in many partitioned rooms.

Mr. Farago also described as "very significant" the arrival in this country Sept. 8 of a high-level team from the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the liaison arm of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The delegation already has met with Vice-President Walter F. Mondale and is to spend three weeks touring major cities.

Not incidentally, it came here directly from Peking and is to return directly as well, rather than stopping en route in any other country.

"I think the significant point is that the Chinese are just as dedicated as we are in solidifying relations," Mr. Farago said. "The United States is closer to being a friend than some of the so-called communist countries are."

*The struggle to keep the lid on the arms race

Soviets give up any or all of their super big weapons and reduce substantially the total number they have. This would restore the security of the American Minutemen missiles in their deep silos and wash out the need for finding a substitute which would be safe against the blast of the big Soviet missiles. That would save President Carter a lot of money and relieve him from the political pressure of the "hawks" on Capitol Hill who are greatly worried about the number of Soviet missiles and the size and "throw weight" of the big ones.

The trouble with the American version of the right kind of SALT II is that it would leave the Soviets vulnerable to the medium- and intermediate-range missiles possessed by American allies in Western Europe and by the Chinese.

It would be just dandy for Washington if Moscow would agree to cut back on its arsenal of nuclear weapons to the point where the weapons in Western Europe and China would equal those in the Soviet Union. But can you imagine the Kremlin ever buying any such deal?

What seems likely to happen is that American weaponizers are going to have to try to

think through some of the implications of the existing situation. This is that the fixed missile in its deep, concrete silo which has long been the backbone of both the American and the Soviet "deterrents" is becoming vulnerable to the new nuclear weapons developed or in prospect in both countries. In other words, the American Minutemen missiles and their Soviet equivalents are becoming obsolete. They are going to have to be phased out and replaced by something new and different unless both sides can agree on a standstill in new weapons.

Right now the United States is working on its own new generation of missiles. President Carter has authorized development and deployment of "cruise" missiles and the development of a so-called "neutron bomb," which is being proposed as an answer to Moscow's large arsenal of tanks in Eastern Europe.

Moscow, according to U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in a speech Sept. 15, is at work on its own new generation of nuclear weapons. He mentioned work being done on four different "systems." None of these has yet been tested, but existing NATO intelligence seems to indicate that they include solid-fuel

propulsion. That would make possible a mobile weapon. The liquid-fueled variety is tied to its fuel supplies. Also, the solid-fueled variety can be fired promptly. Existing Soviet land-based, long-range missiles are liquid-fueled.

One possibility would be to go for mobile land-based missiles. The present leading American concept is for each missile to be housed in a central roundhouse surrounded by a circle of 10 widely spaced alternate semihardened shelters. The missile could be moved on short notice to any one of the outlying shelters. There would thus be 11 places for the one missile. An enemy strike aimed at that missile would have to guess which one of the 11 sites it would be in. Its chance of survival would be 10 out of 11. Or it would take 11 separate enemy missiles to knock out the one American missile.

Another idea is for the United States to phase out the land-based missile altogether and rely entirely on submarine and air-launched missiles. The British have already taken their deterrent off the land and put it entirely in the air and on the sea. That has the enormous advantage of removing land targets. If the United States followed the British lead the extra big

Soviet missiles would be out of business. Their purpose is to be able to knock out land-based missiles. If there are no land-based missiles the Soviet big guns are deprived of their targets.

But of course that would open up a whole new round in the arms race and greatly change the problem of devising a new SALT agreement. That is more than Messrs. Vance and Gromyko can expect to accomplish between now and Oct. 3 when the existing agreements run out.

President Carter has, in effect, proposed both a substantial cutback in existing nuclear weapons levels and also a standstill on the next generation of such weapons. So far, Moscow has failed to come up with any counter offer. It has accepted the propaganda disadvantage rather than make a new proposal that might interest Washington.

It may well be that Moscow thinks it has more to gain by accepting the new round in the weapons race than by calling it off. It would certainly force Mr. Carter to spend on weapons money he could use to better political advantage elsewhere.

*How to keep a writer in his place

Mr. Holbrook complained that last year he had earned about \$53 gross for a 70 hour week; and by the time he had deducted various expenses, this left him nothing at all to live on. The mystery of his continued survival was explained by a \$40 a week grant from the Arts Council.

"But this year," David Holbrook disclosed, "I do not have any such assistance and wonder how I am going to survive. . . It seems clear that, however successful a serious writer, he can no longer survive in a time of inflation and high wage rises."

In due course the reactions started coming in. At least two brother writers took the attitude that having made his own bed, Holbrook should lie in it and stop groaning — or else go and sleep somewhere else.

David Hughes (self-described as "a worst-selling novelist") pointed out that writers enjoyed the self-engineered luxury of indulging a lifelong passion, and there was no reason why they should expect, as of right, the kind of treatment given to the essential services.

And George Target (writing from the village of Trunch in Norfolk) joined in with "Writers have freely chosen to write, and if they can't earn enough at it to satisfy their wants, they ought to try something else." Target claims that he lives "a full and rich life in the peace and beauty of Norfolk" on £22 a week.

At least one other writer had something sour to say about Holbrook's luck in getting his Arts Council grant at all. But Patrick Howarth took his cue to wheel out the Public Lending Rights issue once more. Authors would continue to be paupers, he declared, so long as people who enjoyed 10 times their income could borrow their books from the public libraries without paying a penny.

★Apathy lifts

unintentionally adding more fuel to the unrest. He warned Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelesi, who is head of a government created black tribal homeland, not to expand his political power base beyond the Zulus.

That warning was carried across page one of Beeld, an Afrikaans newspaper. One impression left is that the government feels its liberal unquestioned control so challenged that the warning had to be made.

Then Prime Minister Vorster announced that elections will be held. The opposition parties were caught off guard and old 1974 voter registration lists will be used. As a result, and because of the worried mood of whites, the National Party is expected to be returned with an even bigger mandate than its current 118 parliamentary seats out of 195.

The call for elections has shifted troubled white thinking from a growing preoccupation with the central issue in South Africa — what to do about the urban blacks — back to the smaller, introverted sphere of white politics. But the central issue will remain, like a giant waiting.

There ought, thought Howarth, to be a 5p charge on every book borrowed, and a substantial increase in the TV license fee so that the BBC could afford to pay adequate fees and salaries and commission more original work.

Enter Graham Watson of the big literary agents, Curtis Brown. He reckoned that British publishing must enjoy an annual turnover, including foreign earnings, of £800,000,000. Of this just under 10 percent, or £80,000,000 would be due to authors as fees and royalties. The British public was far from philistine, thought Mr. Watson, look at G. P. Snow, Patrick White, Angus Wilson — all earnings a decent living by their pens.

"Perhaps," he added unkindly, "those who fail to do so have not so far succeeded in catching the ear of the reading public."

Another correspondent, Kenneth Hudson, was kinder still. Holbrook did not seem to have had much commercial success with his wares; what he needed was more energy and salesmanship. For a start, writing letters to the editor of the Times was "the most foolish and bankrupting thing one can do," since it didn't earn a penny. Then Holbrook should follow Hudson's own example by studying the market and turning out a relentless 7,000 words a day.

Holbrook wasn't entirely without friends, however. D. G. B. Marshall-English rallied round to deplore the Hughes/Target argument that because a writer had chosen an occupation that put him "outside the system," therefore he should be prepared to live at a wage well below the average. Did dockers or policemen accept the argument that because they had chosen to work as such, they could go elsewhere if they felt underpaid? "The writer has as much right as the rest of us to expect a reasonable return for his labors."

There the matter certainly won't rest: It comes up in the Times letters at least once every 18 months. This reporter's guess is that all over the United Kingdom, postal calculators are trying to work out how many writers (8,000 to 10,000, perhaps) ought to be making a decent living out of Graham Watson's £80,000,000, though no calculator, human or transistorized, could answer who has actually got all that cash.

Part of the explanation for the survival of literature at all in these islands is that most writers are only part-time practitioners. It is their work as teachers, civil servants, journalists that keeps them clothed and fed.

There is a cash, too, that says something has to be done to keep writing under control — as if it were rabidly, locusts or potato blight. Make it too easy for writers to earn a living — Arts Council grants on demand — a steady flow of cash from the lending libraries — and everyone would start writing; one wouldn't be able to get into the bookshops for books.

Perhaps the best compromise between debarment and a decent living is the one suggested by an unsentimental Scottish poet: declare all writing illegal.

*Arab money and Mideast talks

So far 13 nations or entities — six industrial powers, six members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the Swiss national bank — have pledged money to the Willeven fund. The largest donor is Saudi Arabia, followed by the U.S. and West Germany.

The object of the new facility is to prop up nations needing extra cash to import oil, but whose credit with private banks is extended to the limit.

All this unfolds against the backdrop of a world economic situation judged "generally unsatisfactory" by the IMF in its 1977 annual budget.

A few leading nations, including the United States, West Germany, and Japan, are in "a relatively good economic position," the IMF reports, primarily because they have been most successful in curbing inflation.

But elsewhere, the report says, the world picture is dominated by high unemployment, inflation in many cases above 10 percent, and slow recovery from the global recession of 1974 and '75.

No meaningful pressure can be exerted on the oil-producing cartel (OPEC), according to noted economist Walter W. Heller, unless Americans cut back on the amount of foreign oil they buy.

As for Arab use of the "money weapon," Dr. Heller notes that the Saudis and Kuwaitis, like other investors, seek the best return on their money. They find it through the Western banking system, whose disruption would hurt the Arabs themselves.

In the end, most analysts agree, what Arab governments do, or do not do with their oil and money depends on their relations with Israel.

★China army under party's thumb

military not to aim at expanding its influence too far. Support of high military leaders is thought to have been crucial in helping Chairman Hua Kuo-feng purge the radicals last fall. This, in turn, may have raised the military's political expectations, precipitating this article as a reminder that civilians nonetheless will stay in control.

To reaffirm Mao Tse-tung's policy of subordinating military leadership to party control. With many of Chairman Mao's other policies gradually being altered, the new leaders in Peking may have felt the need to emphasize that this aspect of his legacy will be left intact.

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Soviet Union

Moscow hand on dissidents: heavy, pragmatic

Soviet policy remains unyielding at home; visa grants aim to quiet West complaints

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

A flexible combination of toughness and pragmatism marks the latest phase of the Kremlin's sustained crackdown on dissidents.

A flurry of at least 10 moves in the past two months, culminating in a lengthy top-level justification, an exit visa, and an arrest in recent days alone, seems to Western analysts here to add up to a pointed reminder to the Carter administration in particular and to the West in general.

President Carter and the upcoming international review of European security and human rights opening in Belgrade Oct. 4, are worried that dissidents are seen here not as fighters for freedom but simply as criminal offenders, akin to thieves and speculators.

The authorities are trying to deprive the battered band of surviving dissidents of more leadership and maneuvering room.

And they seem to be trying to remove obvious causes for Western complaint by select-

ively granting exit visas in cases where the gain might outweigh the loss.

Pressure still on

There has been no letup, comments one Western source. The pressure is still there. But the tactics are varied.

At the same time, Pravda on Sept. 13 printed a new and strong attack on black propaganda, which explicitly linked the Voice of America with Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, the BBC, and West German and Swedish radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union as subversive and hostile.

The continuing tough line against dissidents is shown in:

• The detention and apparent arrest of well-known artist Oskar Rabin. His son told newsmen on Sept. 13 that the seizure the day before was a mystery but that his father now faced vagrancy charges.

• More preparations for the pending trials of dissident leaders Anatoly Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov, and Alexander Ginzburg (Mr. Shcharansky has been defended against a Soviet

charge of aiding the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency by Mr. Carter himself).

• A recent refusal to renowned scientist Benjamin Levich, the highest-ranking Soviet Jew ever to seek to emigrate.

• Police and KGB action against Baptist congregations in three separate cities, climaxed by several hours of struggle in Bryansk, 220 miles southwest of Moscow.

• An unusually explicit speech by KGB chief Yuri Andropov on Sept. 9, which Western analysts continue to comb for its revealing, top-level justification and analysis of Soviet attitudes toward dissidents.

Dissidents noted

With Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev also on the dais, Mr. Andropov addressed a nationally televised public meeting. The Soviet Union still contained small numbers of dissidents, he said, just as there are thieves, bribe-takers, speculators, and other criminal offenders.

Prolonged applause greeted a statement that both criminals and dissidents must be punished in full accord with Soviet legislation. He added that dissidents received payment little different from the way imperialist services pay their agents. But those citizens who did not break the law had nothing to fear, since the KGB and

police were staffed by men of moral purity and loyalty to duty, he said.

Simultaneously, the Kremlin has shown these signs of pragmatism:

• It told one noted dissident Sept. 12 — Valentin Turchin, head of the unofficial Moscow branch of Amnesty International — that he could emigrate. Mr. Turchin said he had been given one month to leave, with his family. He intends to teach mathematics at Columbia University in New York.

More visas granted

It has allowed other figures, such as youth mathematician Grigory Chudnovsky and mime artist Boris Amarantov to leave. It has given exit visas to the stepdaughter of the most prominent dissident of them all, 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Andrei Sakharov. It has given a 60-day pass to Dr. Sakharov's wife Yelena, for an eye operation in Italy.

Meanwhile, former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, activist Tanya Khodorovich, and others try to keep alive the work of the human rights monitoring committee founded by Dr. Orlov last year. And a committee to protect the use of psychiatric methods against dissidents appealed for support to the recent international psychiatric conference in Honolulu.

Soviets get choosy about shoes

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

Dusty, thick-soled, square-toed, ill-colored, unwanted, unbought, they lie forlornly on shelves throughout the Soviet Union.

They are symbols of poor design and manufacture. They are also one of the few examples of genuine consumer power in this centrally planned land where all decisions are made in Moscow.

They are Soviet-made shoes. Soviet shoppers simply do not buy them unless there is no other choice. They prefer to pay up to 100 percent more for stylish and strong pairs from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Finland, or the United Kingdom. The black-market price can go as high as 150 rubles (\$201) or more for an imported pair of women's high winter boots.

Now new and striking evidence has come to light of severe problems in the shoe industry — and, by extension, in the whole business of supplying Soviet consumers generally.

The shoe factory rated the best in the nation, a showplace in Lvov (western Ukraine), proudly shown to this correspondent and others a few months ago, suddenly has fallen deep into trouble.

The local ministries have failed to send enough leather and polyurethane to allow workers to keep up production. Instead of sending more, state officials have lowered production targets. That means workers are losing bonuses for quality. What is worse, they are losing bonuses for quality, thus defeating the whole point of the new quality controls at the plant that were once held up as a model for the entire nation.

Workers have begun to leave. So great is the scandal that a correspondent for the Communist Party newspaper Pravda, no less, has just written a tough article about it.

The name of the shoe store is Progress. The Pravda headline: Why is there no progress at Progress?

Usually the long-suffering Soviet consumer has little choice; he is stuck with whatever is available.

But when it comes to shoes, especially women's shoes, fashion has begun to take a hand. Shoppers can spend weeks searching for a pair. Article after article in the central press wrote a letter of complaint to the minister, it was returned. On it someone had written: Secretary, please return this letter to Lvov without reporting to the minister.

Exact figures are hard to pin down. A 1970 Leningrad University report said 40 million pairs were unsold that year — and unsold stocks had grown as percent in three years. The figures have worsened considerably since then, analysts say.

"I haven't worn a pair of Russian shoes for four years," says one Muscovite.

For older shoppers, she adds, it is almost impossible to find any proper shoes, Russian or foreign.



Kremlin on Eurocommunism:

A little more bark, a little less bite

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Vietna

The Soviets have renewed their criticism of the Eurocommunists, but this time on a lower key. Their main charge now is that the Italian, French, and Spanish parties are misguidedly fueling Western efforts to exploit divergences within the Communist movement.

The new warning appeared in the same foreign affairs weekly, New Times, which in June infuriated the independents with a blatant attack on the Spanish party leader, Santiago Carrillo.

Perhaps taken aback by the force of the reaction, the Soviets apparently sought to modify the attack. Their latest criticism refrained from direct reference to any one party or party leader.

Instead, it concentrated on "Eurocommunism's supposed value to the capitalist West in terms of propaganda value against growing Communist strength in major West European countries."

The West, New Times alleged, also saw Eurocommunism as a means of enlarging differences between the Soviet and other ruling parties and of drawing nonruling parties away from solidarity with the Communist bloc and the mainstream international movement.

There was little really new in the argument, except the greater care manifested by the Soviets as they try to counter Eurocommunism's appeal.

It already has been indicated that the June

attack on Mr. Carrillo ran contrary to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's own ideas as to how the issue should be handled. It seems that his evident awareness of the dangers of too heavy a hand was reinforced during last month's discussions with Yugoslavia's President Tito.

In June, the Yugoslavs responded even more actively than the Eurocommunists themselves. They saw New Times reviving all the familiar Soviet claims to a special leading role in the movement, contrary to the principles of each party's independence laid down in the 1976 Berlin declaration.

Since the June furor, in fact, there seems to have been a tacit wish by all involved to cool down the dispute.

The movement's difficulties stood high on President Tito's Moscow agenda. Subsequent Yugoslav comment indicated that he strongly warned the Soviets of the harm done and the aggravation of the differences by Moscow's violent open attacks on the independent parties.

Since their return, Yugoslav officials have said they found the Soviets in a somewhat more flexible, responsive mood. Though not retreating from their own "solidarity" formula and obviously retaining their own interpretations of everything, they at least accepted the Yugoslav's recipe, which is that "solidarity" depends on "voluntary and equal" cooperation.

If there is a lull on this particular front, the Sino-Soviet dispute — a major source of disagreement between pro-Soviet and independent parties — shows signs of flaring up anew.



Spanish Communist leader Carrillo; he makes Brezhnev angry too

...that may not be too unlikely. Fewer guns, more butter.

The spectators caught in the squeeze



Colored wedding in Pietermaritzburg: Are they Afrikaners or are they black?

By John E. Young



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

English-speaking South Africans bowl on

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Durban, South Africa — "When two elephants fight, the grass gets hurt." This African proverb was the common theme of sensitive writer Alan Paton, probably South Africa's best known English-speaking chronicler, on what is going on in his country today. The elephants? White Afrikaners and black urban African nationalists, already joined in struggle here. The grass? Those other complexed society not committed — at least fully — in the struggle, but likely to be caught up in it whether they want to or not.

There are at least five of them:

- The English-speaking South Africans, 2 1/2 million of them, with their biggest concentration here in Durban and in surrounding Natal province. (Mr. Paton, now in his 70s, white-haired and craggy faced, lives in a modest single-story house surrounded by flowers high in the hills about 20 miles inland from here.)

- The handful of Afrikaners, very few of them, who have dared challenge the direction of Afrikaner nationalism and prefer conciliation to confrontation with black nationalists.

- The Coloreds, 2 1/2 million of them, concentrated mostly in Western Cape Province. These are people of mixed race whose ancestors were mainly the original Dutch settlers in the Cape and slaves, usually of East Indian origin. Their language and religion are predominantly that of the Afrikaners: Afrikaans and the Dutch Reformed Church.

- The Indians, 1 1/2 million of them, whose ancestors came from what is now India and Pakistan in the 19th century originally to work on the English-owned sugar plantations in Natal Province. There are more of them here in Durban than in any other South African metropolitan center.

- The rural Africans living in the ethnically defined African homelands — and more particularly the tribal chiefs or chief ministers of these homelands. Of these ethnic groups, the three biggest are the Zulu, Xhosa, and Tswana speaking peoples, in that order. Their leaders are Gatsha Buthelesi (Zulu), Kaiser Matanzima (Xhosa), and Lucas Mangope (Tswana). The total population of the homelands is slightly less than 9 million, or slightly less than half of South Africa's total black population of 18 million. The others live near white urban areas or on white farms.

The whole idea of the African homeland plan — devised by successive Afrikaner governments since the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948 — is to reduce to the minimum those "black" South Africans with South African citizenship and to give them instead the citizenship of their respective homelands. This would lead, in theory, to most blacks in white South Africa becoming foreigners. This in turn would enable white South Africans to claim that they are a majority (and no

minority as at present) in their own

Crisis in South Africa

As the struggle between black nationalists and white Afrikaners intensifies, other South Africans, white and nonwhite, remain uninvolvement — but not unaffected



citizenship for South African citizens and Chief Matanzima is indirectly supporting them, lest he be thought too much a part of the South African Government.

Chief Mangope has boxed himself in by acting for formal independence for the Tswana homelands later this year, and may himself in deep trouble with urban whites for doing so. Chief Buthelesi, on the other hand, has apparently understood the situation and — presumably to the chagrin of the South African Government because of strength and importance of the Zulus — has fully avoided seeking or accepting formal independence for the KwaZulu homeland.

Indians and Coloreds have found themselves squeezed between whites and blacks throughout South Africa's history. They have considered themselves superior to blacks, but whites have tended to look upon and treat them as whites. Coloreds in the Cape Province were mostly on the common role of voters, but in the Afrikaner Government deprived them of that advantage over nonwhites. This was a source of great bitterness — as were the Mixed Marriages Act and the Group Areas Act, which barred Coloreds and Indians from marriage and gave the government power to remove Coloreds and Indians from designated areas as "whites."

The government tried to appease Colored and Indian resentment at having no voting rights by establishing a Colored Person's Representative Council (CPRC) and a South African Indian Council (SAIC). But many Coloreds and Indians, particularly intellectuals and of the younger generation, have opposed both the CPRC and the SAIC with hostility, as being institutions in the way of strengthening separation of the races. Young Coloreds and Indians have taken

to calling themselves "black" and show sympathy with the black consciousness movement. Significantly, young Coloreds joined Africans in protest demonstrations against government policy in Cape Town in September, 1976.

Representation formula

In recent weeks, Prime Minister John Vorster's government has conferred with CPRC and SAIC representatives about possible constitutional changes which would reportedly establish separate Colored and Indian parliaments. These would send representatives to join representatives of the existing white Parliament on a presidential council in the ratio of four whites to two Coloreds to one Indian. (This, of course, would still leave ultimate power in white hands.) Simultaneously, the South African Defense Minister has announced that the military draft may be extended to Coloreds and Indians, who already are accepted for military service in certain special units.

Some observers interpret these moves as a significant step forward in the direction of power sharing between the races in South Africa. But there are Colored and Indian spokesmen who ask how it really can be thus when the provisions have nothing whatsoever to offer to a disenfranchised group outnumbering the Coloreds and Indians together: the blacks.

Cynics suggest the whole operation is aimed at driving a wedge between Coloreds and Indians on the one hand and, on the other, the blacks — a countermove to the signs of the three groups coming together within the black consciousness movement. And these same cynics expect the Coloreds and Indian leadership to opt for sitting on the fence in case, in now embracing Mr. Vorster, they should find themselves one day having backed a loser.



Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelesi

As for the Afrikaners who have broken with hard-line Afrikaner nationalism and preach conciliation with blacks and other nonwhites, they remain voices crying in the wilderness. They include political moderates who identify themselves with the English-speaking led Progressive Reform Party and more daring individuals such as F. J. van Wyk, who heads the South African Institute of Race Relations, and the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé, former Moderator of the South Transvaal Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church who since 1963 has headed the Christian Institute. They usually find themselves ostracized by National Party and Dutch Reformed Church leaders.

'Still in the wilderness'

Dr. Beyers Naudé said to this writer: "When I made the break and took the job with the Christian Institute in 1963, I told my wife that for the next 12 years we'd be in the wilderness, but that I hoped that by then Afrikaners would have understood what I am trying to convey to them. I'm afraid we are still in the wilderness."

English-speaking South Africans are in some ways in the most sensitive position of all. They know that Afrikaners have never completely trusted them. Yet they are aware that it was their immediate ancestors who set the country on the road to wealth and prosperity with the development of gold and diamonds in the 19th century. They know they still are deeply involved in the country's economic well-being. (After all, diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer is one of them.) And they love the land that they feel is as much theirs as the Afrikaners.

A Colored lecturer in Afrikaans at the Coloreds' University of the Western Cape said:



Xhosa Chief Kaiser Matanzima

"In the last resort, the English-speaking South Africans' situation could be the most pitiable of all. Unlike us [i.e. the Coloreds], they can never be Afrikaners and they can never be blacks." (He was referring to the fact that the Coloreds are in the anomalous position of being Afrikaans-speaking and of having nonwhite skins.)

When it comes to the harsher aspects of Afrikaner policy, English-speaking South Africans criticize it, but they have proven either unable or unwilling since 1948 to check the main thrust of that policy. In fairness to them, however, it must be recalled that over the years Afrikaners have established for themselves a monopoly of control of both political power and institutions. Yet most English-speaking South Africans are as sensitive as Afrikaners to outside criticism and particularly to the foreign press. Repeatedly they say to newsmen from outside: "Can't you find something good to report? There is much good if you look for it."

An act of kindness

Behind all this, of course, is a cruel dilemma. English-speakers do not feel personal responsibility for the toughest Afrikaner legislation. Consequently they have little feeling of personal guilt for what nonwhite South Africans see as that legislation's excesses. Yet this does not prevent the compassionate among them from trying to help the victims of those excesses.

One particular act of human kindness lives in this writer's memory. In mid-August, the authorities summarily made 8,000 Africans homeless by bulldozing flat a squatters' shantytown which had gone up at Modderdam on the outskirts of Cape Town. Most of the people dispossessed were said to be there illegally and the shantytown was said to be a health hazard. There was a considerable outcry in the English-language press against the authorities' action, deemed all the more heartless because it came in the damp cold of the Cape winter.

Driving alongside the demolished shantytown, I saw small groups of Africans seeking shelter under propped-up plastic sheeting and warming themselves in the chill drizzle by lighting fires of the rubbish. Just ahead of me was a lone grandmotherly white woman stopping her car at intervals and carrying on armfuls of loaves of bread to this knot and that knot of Africans. At one point, she took off her raincoat and then removed a cashmere sweater which she put around the shoulders of a shivering black woman.

There was obvious gratitude from the recipients — but in an ultimate confrontation, blacks are still unlikely to distinguish between Afrikaners and English-speakers. As an Afrikaner policeman had said when urging me to turn back from entering Soweto, on a day of violence in that huge black township outside Johannesburg: "If they attack you, it'll be no use shouting that you speak English."

Second of a series. Following page: the young black nationalists.

of the Wanderers Club, Johannesburg



In South Africa: a swelling tide of 'black consciousness'

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

The young black Nationalists

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The rising tide of black nationalism in South Africa differs from earlier black protest movements in one all-important respect: its immediate aim is the psychological or mental emancipation of the black man and woman — not their political emancipation.

The current tide generally is referred to as the "black consciousness movement," and the most important organization within it is the Black People's Convention (BPC). Other organizations under the movement's umbrella are the South African Students' Organization (SASO) and the South African Students' Movement (SASM) — the former operating at college level, the latter at high-school level. All are exclusively black.

One of the banned leaders of the BPC explained to this writer that the latest generation of politically articulate South African blacks sees mental emancipation as a necessary prelude to political emancipation from the servile status in which their country's 18 million blacks have hitherto been held by the white minority of 4¼ million whites. (A banned person has to live in a designated area — often a kind of banishment — cannot legally be in the presence of more than one other person, and may not have his or her words quoted by the media within South Africa.)

Once, mental emancipation had been achieved, this banned leader said, political action would naturally evolve, leading to political emancipation. There is little doubt that the political unrest and protest from South Africa's black townships over the past 18 months — most notably that associated with Soweto, the sprawling black urban area outside Johannesburg — is a direct outcome of the black consciousness movement, although not directly organized by the BPC.

Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans, whose National Party has controlled the government since 1948, have reacted to these protests (usually described as "riots") with increasing toughness. Leaders, and suspected leaders, of the protests are arrested and often held for long periods of interrogation — allegedly accompanied by torture. The police (whose white members are predominantly Afrikaners) use guns, dogs, and batons. But amazingly this writer found no sign of fear or of being cowed among young blacks who said they had been on the receiving end of this treatment.

On the contrary, young black men and women alike are consistently buoyant and optimistic. They are, they say, psychologically liberated.

They give the clenched-fist black-power salute and cry (in Zulu): "Amanthlali" (Power!), to which the response is: "Ngawethu" (is ours). In public, both the salute and the cries are considered provocative by the police and can often lead to trouble.

A Soweto man in his late 20s, Paul Langa, was given a 30-year jail sentence last month on charges under the Terrorism Act arising from

bomb explosions outside a police station. The World, Johannesburg's only black newspaper, reported: "Not a tear was shed by either Langa's wife or his relatives and friends. Instead they shook hands with him and gave clenched fist salutes as he was led back to the cells." All this, said the newspaper, "despite the presence of both uniformed and plainclothes police in the public gallery." (There was no evidence Paul Langa was a member of the BPC. His affiliation was said to be with a Soweto students' "suicide squad.")

CRISIS in SOUTH AFRICA

In conversation with Soweto teen-agers, this writer asked if they were not deterred by signs that the more they defied the government — with school boycotts, for example — the tougher the government was likely to become. The students' retort was: Had I not been in a war? When I said I had been in World War II, they asked if I had then dwelt every morning on the possibility of being killed. I told them I had not. Well, they said, neither do we.

One Soweto student — not a member of the group — was quoted as saying: "If 20,000 of us have to be killed so that 20 million of us can be free, it will still be a price worth paying."

BPC leaders say their movement, founded in 1972, is growing all the time in numbers and maturity. Four years ago, they add, it would have been easy to destroy the movement, but it would be very difficult to destroy it now. If the government "creams off" the leadership, they claim, others are immediately available to fill vacancies.

One BPC leader said anybody wanting to measure the headway made by the black consciousness movement over the past five years should ride a bus back to Soweto with black workers going home from Johannesburg and compare conversations with what they were five years ago. Five years ago, the BPC leader said, many black workers were being harassed by white employers and white employers were being harassed by black workers. Today the most frequent topic is the latest indignity at white hands which is no longer going to be put up with.

Two BPC leaders told this writer separately that only 20 percent of urban blacks held their heads high five years ago. Today, 80 percent do — thanks to the black consciousness movement.

There are South Africans, black and white alike, who considered that one of the most important and potentially influential blacks of the younger generation was Steve Biko, who died while on hunger strike in detention a fortnight ago. He was the first president of SASO and honorary president of the BPC. He probably would have been president if he had not been banned before the BPC was formally organized. Prior to his detention last month under the Terrorism Act, he had been banished to a black township near King William's Town, in

land from the Indian Ocean in the Eastern Cape Province. Before his detention he told this writer that the BPC was determined not to allow "mental rape and mental oppression" to continue. Without getting at this stage into the methods of struggle, he said, the BPC wanted to encourage blacks to get a proper view of themselves and of the need to struggle. He expected the exact pattern of the struggle to be defined within the next five years.

Mr. Biko was a tall, sturdily built man of barely 30, soft-spoken with a ready smile. Interestingly, he was taking a law degree in Afrikaans, by correspondence course. Apparently he expected the Afrikaners to be still part of South Africa after the radical change for which the BPC is fighting. He said, "In this country, we have a situation peculiar to all Africa: black and white must live together. At the end there can only be nonracial government."

Right now, he said, is the last opportunity for peaceful change. For this, the Afrikaners must see that the majority will not accept separate development. They must (he said) accept the honesty of the black search for change and consent to deal with black organizations. But this must be on the basis of white recognition of blacks "as competent to be change agents themselves."

So far, Mr. Biko said, the country's Afrikaner leadership had not got round to listening to what blacks wanted. Even the best of the Afrikaners feared that any concession to blacks would bring "corruption, anarchy, and chaos. For them, the chaos they fear is justification enough to maintain the present situation. But for blacks, the present situation is worse than chaos."

Mr. Biko said he did not doubt the eventual victory of outright racial conflict in South Africa. It could either be controllable or it could get out of control. "All we can do is minimize the conflict. All of us are involved. I want to keep the conflict at a minimum level."

An associate of Mr. Biko said the eventual South Africa they wanted was "an egalitarian state regardless of race."

South BPC leaders and Soweto students told this writer that the South African government and the police were still convinced that behind BPC and the student protest movement were third-party organizers — perhaps the African National Congress (ANC), perhaps the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), perhaps communists or the Soviet Union. This, they said, was apparent from the questions put to them by police interrogators when they were detained. Justice and Police Minister, Jimmy Kruger, indicated parallel suspicions in an interview.

But, the BPC leaders and the students said, they were not being organized or instigated by any third parties. What they were doing was spontaneous and came from the grass roots. A BPC leader said: "We have no links with the ANC or the PAC. They are irrelevant to the BPC, although we do see them as elements in the struggle."

The ANC is the dean of African protest movements in South Africa, having been founded in 1912. It was outlawed in 1960, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sen-

tence on Robben Island off Cape Town. The ANC operates underground and outside South Africa, and it does have links with communists. Among its current operations is the recruitment of young South African blacks to training outside the country as guerrillas. The PAC, also outlawed in 1960, is a group that broke away from the ANC in 1959. Its leader, Robert Sobukwe, lives under virtual house arrest in Kimberley after serving a jail sentence on Robben Island. This movement, too, operates underground in South Africa.

The Soweto students are in fact becoming increasingly adept in organizing their protests on their own — and keeping their plans to themselves. Their first open move was on June 14, 1976, aimed at ending the government plan to make Afrikaans a language of instruction in Soweto schools. They were successful. This summer's drive — not successful so far — is to bring to an end the whole government-imposed system of African education. This, the students say, is grossly under-financed (compared with white education) and is intended to keep blacks in a subservient position.

To start with, the students' initiatives, kept secret even from their parents, put a strain on relations between the generations. Many young people brusquely told their parents that the efforts and methods of earlier generations had failed to put an end to humiliation of blacks, so the students should be allowed to do things their own way. One said: "The tree of liberty has not grown from the conference table. It will grow only if watered by the blood of martyrs."

But now, the gap between parents and children is narrowing, largely as a result of the heavy-handed tactics that parents have used the police use against their offspring. One father said: "We worry, but we no longer try to stop them. What they are saying and doing represents our own gut feeling, which we have never had the courage or been able to express before."

It is indeed remarkable how the Soweto students secretly plan and then secure compliance from their peers — even those away from home in distant boarding schools — who are ordered back to join the struggle. In these cases, too, anguished parents are powerless to block compliance and resist themselves to the relentless course being charted by this new generation so committed to black power.

Third in a series.

Biko death

Prime Minister Vorster has announced that an inquiry into Mr. Biko's death will be held.

Police Minister Kruger has now said police "heads may roll." He has also tried to extricate himself from some statements he made about Mr. Biko's death — such as "It leaves me cold" — and from the laughter about his death from Afrikaners at their political party caucus in Bloemfontein a fortnight ago.

people/places/things



Tukano priest's rattles and pipes

Amazon Indians still fight battle of the sexes

By Clayton Jones and
Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

Mitu, Colombia
Peyu, a sturdy and simple Indian maiden, is among the last of the Amazon women of the forest.

Her isolated people, the Tukano, have not changed their ways much since 1542 when the Amazon's first explorer, a one-eyed Spanish conquistador named Francisco de Orellana, rafted from the Andes to the Atlantic.

Each Tukano village sits on a bend of a tributary where it has sat for centuries — in a remote region of the Amazon's upper north-west, where jungle waters run a mahogany red. A monotonous green landscape of tall, dripping trees has sheltered the Indians from Western civilization for centuries.

Time, however, no longer treads softly over



Photos by Clayton Jones

Tukano Indian woman sets out for manioc fields, her forehead and cheeks adorned with red paint

the age-old culture of the Tukano and dozens of other hidden Amazon tribes. Outsiders are encroaching on Indian land and depleting the game. Both the Brazilian and Colombian governments have plans for jungle highways near Peyu's village.

Under the forest's canopy, giant iridescent blue butterflies called Morphos flutter and glide around a rectangular communal hut where six Tukano families, including Peyu's parents, sling their palm-string hammocks and tend a perpetual fire.

Peyu, whose name means turtle in Tukano, recently took a short journey from her village on the Pira-Pirana River — a journey which suggests why tall tales of assertive Amazon women started in Indian folklore.

Peyu tried to seek a mate. Under a hot equatorial sun, she walked from the forest (a Tu-

kano male symbol) to the banks of the river (a female symbol). Peyu's black hair hung straight down her brown, round face and over her bare shoulders. She picked up a heart-shaped paddle and, with the ease of an anaconda, headed her shallow dugout canoe upstream. In a few weeks, she would bring back a husband to her village. He would be accepted like the men brought before him.

Jungle matriarchs

Friar Carvajal, chronicler on Orellana's 1542 voyage across the continent, reported Western man's only sighting of such jungle matriarchs when he saw women fighting alongside Indian men: "They are very white and tall and having hair long and braided and wound about the head and they are very robust," he noted. Indians often told other adventurers of "the women who live alone" and who meet men solely for procreation, keeping only their female children.

The Tukanos, too, have a long history of struggle between the sexes. The saga is told and retold over centuries in fireside rituals performed by chiefs and shamans or priests. At times, females appear to have the upper hand. As many times, however, men claim supremacy. Both may be more symbolic than real. These complex divisions, which the Tukano think appease the wrath of nature's forces, evolved in order to help the Indians survive in the wilderness.

For many Amazon tribes, existence is an expression of this intense struggle between the sexes, from myths of creation to daily jungle chores.

Women get 'what they want'

"Decisions appear to be made by men," says University of Brasília anthropologist Alida Rita Ramos, who spent two years living with a Venezuelan tribe, "but Indian women know what they want and can scream and protest to get it." In Tukano eyes, the life of the hunter is the only fit one for a man. Women are horticulturalists.

Each day, women hike into the forest with large baskets, the artifact most intimately identified with feminine tasks, slung with a strap across their foreheads, their heads down, often carrying a baby. They work until noon in open, two-acre fields, called chagras, which have been clear-cut and burned. They plant and harvest the potato-like manioc, a staple of the Amazon region and a source of tapioca, which the women haul back to the village along with wild pineapple, banana, pepper, plantain, palm nut, papaya, avocado pear, peach palm, and large ants (a delicacy).

Squeezing manioc bread

Sitting on the hut's dirt floor, the women grate the manioc on a concave wooden board encrusted with small, pointed stones. Then, us-

ing a sleeve-like woven tube, called a tipli, poison juices are squeezed from the white manioc pulp. Over a large, flat stone heated by fire, the pulp is then baked into cassava bread, the main foodstuff of the tribe.

Through slits in the hut's walls, the sun's rays form circles of light on the women's calm faces. They accept their role. So do men, simply as a reflection of a divided universe: forest food is male and river food, such as fish, is female. Sour taste is feminine, sweet taste is masculine. Male food, however, can be transformed to female under the yellow fire given by "father sun."

The hut's front door, which receives the sunlight, is for men. Women use the back door where they fall under the men's reflections. Red pigment adorns the men's faces in different patterns than the women's. Protection is symbolized by the right hand (male) while the left hand (female) means disgrace and weakness.

Spheres of influence

Settlements have three landings. Men use the upper one, women the lower, and the middle is where they meet. Tukano women must never see men making rattles and flutes, blowguns and headdresses, or bows and arrows.

Preparation for a hunt focuses the men's energies for killing tapirs, armadillos, large rodents, and colorful birds. Male Tukano also fish, but rely on the women, who stand waist-deep upstream, to agitate the waters with barbasco plant branches while the men collect the fish, stunned by the plant's poison.

A Tukano woman wants female babies to help with the chores while men prefer boys for hunting. If a woman bears twins, it is believed a Tukano taboo against mixing male and female food was broken. The result is infanticide. Although cruel, such strict norms help keep population low in a jungle that can be easily overexploited.

Contraceptive practices

Blame for childless couples is always ascribed to the women. But a man who sires more than two children is accused of being a bad husband and causing too much work for his wife. This arises from the fact that both men and women are responsible for contraception, using a mysterious plant juice, a practice anthropologists have recently found to be widespread among Amazon tribes. Only one Tukano woman is pregnant at a time so that no strain is placed on the tribe.

For all the Tukano's sexual roles, men and women intimately understand each other as complements of one another. That intimacy, however, probably will be destroyed within a decade or two by customs from outside. Peyu may be the last link in a long chain of Amazons.

Path from thatched hut leads down to Pira-Pirana River

sports

America's Cup race: Winning was a breeze for Courageous

By Jonathan Harsch
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Newport, Rhode Island — The sleek 12-meter yachts 200 yards in front of us, 10 miles out in Rhode Island Sound, slipped through the water so effortlessly that they left hardly a trace — sure proof that Courageous and Australia have reached nearly the ultimate in resistance-free hull design.

Powered by man's first wings — each yacht's 1,300 square feet of sail — Ted Turner's U.S. America's Cup defender and Noel Robins' challenger from Australia lacked, flared, wheeled, and gyred like two immense and graceful eagles flying in formation, guided by nature and unwavering instinct.

The final race in the 23rd America's Cup series left traditions as undisturbed as the air and water. Turner's Courageous swept the best-of-seven series 4-0. The Americans once again proved their superiority at sea, as they have done every time since the revolutionary new-design ship America captured the coveted Victorian silver trophy from Britain's Royal Yacht Squadron in 1851.

A gleaming replica of America, with her wall of gaff-rigged sail strung from her sharply raked masts, was the pride of the huge spectator fleet. Breasting the waves again leaving nearly undisturbed water in her wake, America was a reminder to all of how important the Cup races have been in achieving technological breakthroughs.

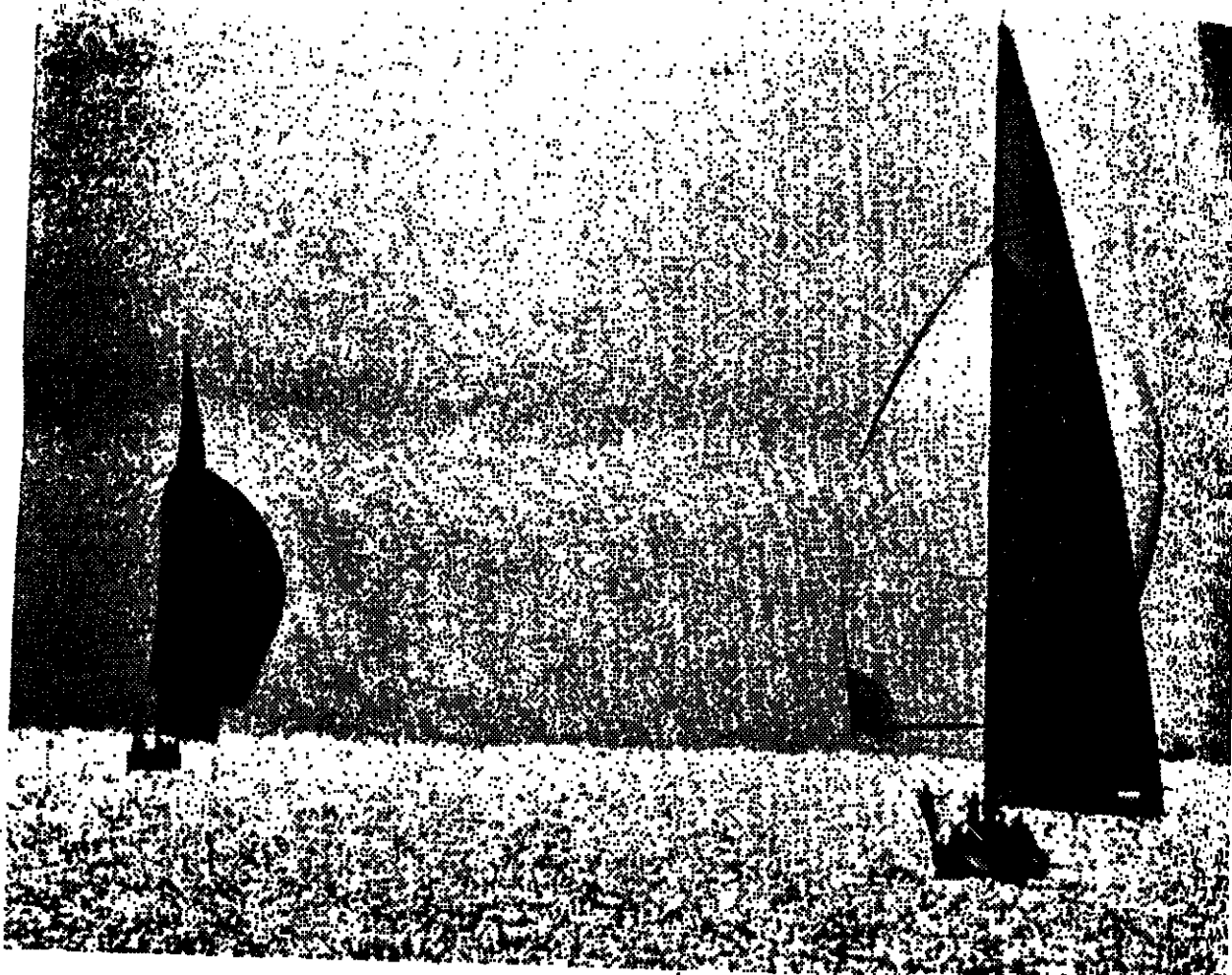
The immense effort and expense poured into each Cup race have brought far more than just sporting honors to the successive defenders. Over 128 years, the most sought after international sailing trophy has earned the U.S. a reputation for design innovation, for determination, and for cooperation among men from a wide variety of arts and sciences. This reputation has been important in the commercial and diplomatic worlds, not just in the world of sports.

The 1977 races certainly kept alive the proud tradition of international achievement.

Georgia-born Ted Turner may have been suspended from baseball for his explosive ways. But for all its staid and stuffy trappings, the New York Yacht Club has welcomed Turner into the America's Cup world and even into Newport high society.

Turner and the rough Australians whose near-perfect boat and tactics almost matched his own were welcome despite all the social traditions they breached. The important point was that they kept alive the tradition of increasing our understanding of how to drive a hull through the sea just a fraction faster.

This goal of technical advance is shared by the thousands of



America's Cup competitors Courageous (left) and Australia sail into the setting sun

spectators who brave Rhode Island's September seas to watch each race.

One retired Navy man winced when listening to Turner's crude remarks. But he has watched every Cup race but one since 1934 and hopes to watch Turner again in 1980 because "this man has taught every one of us more about sailing."

Another professional who has learned from Turner is Halsey Herreshoff, grandson of the famous marine engineer Nathaniel Herreshoff, whose Rhode Island yard built eight Cup winners.

Halsey Herreshoff watched each maneuver closely — because he is a long time 12 meter racer and hopes someday to have the honor of building a Cup defender himself.

Herreshoff believes that new developments in hull design, sails, rigging, and marine technology depend on "thoroughbred" 12 meters and on the America's Cup races. He would like to see the race rules liberalized "to allow greater latitude" for new developments.

It is convinced, furthermore, that the costs involved are more than justified by the spinoff benefits for both the dedicated racer and the pleasure boater. The benefits include new and safer rigging, sails in new fabrics which hold their precise fit despite the tremendous pressures exerted in 12-meter racing, and new understanding of getting more power from the wind.

It is that last benefit which most interested one fascinated spectator representing the Carter administration and that of administration's concern with energy.

As he watched Courageous, Australia, and the swarm of spectator boats from the bridge of the U.S. Coast Guard ship Vigorous, Assistant Undersecretary of Transportation Member Downey said that the Cup races are a lesson in how valuable the wind is as a natural energy source.

Another sailor coming away from the Cup races convinced that the 85-foot million dollar 12-meter is neither outmoded nor outpriced was Alan Bond, the ever cheerful head of the Australian racing syndicate.

Bond's boat lost this year. Yet he promised to return to Newport in 1980, to launch a new and tougher challenge.

He said one of the great successes for the 12-meters this year was the tremendous cooperation between the three challenging countries, Australia, France and Sweden. He hoped this cooperation will grow — along with the interest already shown by Britain, Germany, and Italy for a 1980 challenge.

Australia's main problem, said Bond, was that "it was not until we met Courageous that we found we didn't have enough boat speed." The way to tune international challenges to higher standards is to race 12-meters more often, he said. He called on other countries to spend the money and "make the race to have a 12-meter regatta at least 12 months before each America's Cup race."

I remember one hot and humid day sitting in the bowels of a Sixth Avenue hotel with an Italian coach called Manlio Scopigno, nicknamed the Philosopher, after his studies at the University of Rome. He had brought his Cagliari loan from Sardinia to Chicago, to represent the Chicago franchise in the summer league.

Well, it looks as if they have, though Chicago and its public have still to be conquered. But New York, which absolutely had to be conquered, were the League to succeed, has miraculously been alarmed.

Perhaps only a Pele, with his magical resilience, his superb sleight of foot, his explosive moments of power, his mighty reputation, could have achieved as much. For New York appeared doubly inaccessible to soccer. On the one hand, it was known as a city which demanded the best, and how was any New York pro club to provide that?

On the other, its public was split between an immense majority to whom soccer meant nothing, and an immigrant minority who knew too much about the game to put up with third-rate games played by obscure or aging players.

Pele in soccer's terms is aging, though he is very far from obscure. But the Cosmos,

backed by Warner Communications, have dipped deeply into their pockets to bring over other players of renown. Last year they signed the Lazio and Italy center-forward Giorgio Cinghiale, a controversial figure with a colorful Cinderella story.

He came to Wales at the age of 15, an immigrant from the marble town of Carrara in Tuscany, was largely spurned and snubbed by British football, given a free transfer by little Swansea Town, then returned to Italy to become a hero. When he revisited Rome with the touring Cosmos team, to play against his old club, Lazio, last spring, the railway station was besieged by hundreds of ecstatic admirers.

A few months later, there would be ten thousand of them at the airport in New York to welcome back the Cosmos from somewhat narrowly winning the North American Soccer League title in Portland.

It's ironic that Pele should be playing his last (if it really is his last) game against Santos. His recent autobiography made it clear that he remains bitter about the way the club treated him over salaries and contracts. Meanwhile, without him, it has slid into mediocrity, a left-handed tribute to itself.

Brian Glanville is soccer correspondent of the Sunday Times, London.

Americans search the world for soccer stars

By Brian Glanville
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

On October 1, at the Giants Stadium, Meadowlands, in East Rutherford, New Jersey, Pele will, for the second time, make what is positively the last appearance.

If this sounds Irish rather than Brazilian, I can only apologize. The fact is, however, that Pele initially retired from soccer in 1974, playing his last game for what was then his only and only club, Santos, of the São Paulo league. On October 1, he will be playing for the New York Cosmos against Santos, and for Santos against the Cosmos, the Cosmos having persuaded him out of retirement three years ago, thus changing the whole course of American professional soccer.

There has never been, nor will there ever be, a player like Pele. He is 37 years old now, and American has not remotely seen him at all. They would never have seen him at all had he not been unbrokeable, thanks to wretched legal advice and his own financial naivete. In the affairs of a company called Piflox, he was persuaded to guarantee their debts, though he owned a mere 6 percent of the equity. He found himself in the hole for \$2,000,000.

The only way out was to accept the Cosmos' \$4,500,000 offer for a three-year stint, making the best of it by saying that he had always wanted to promote soccer in the USA.

This he has done with incredible success. To one like myself, who was present at the uneasy beginnings of the new American professional soccer, it was a miracle. The Cosmos, in 1977, there were not one but two professional leagues, set up in absurd competition with each other. In New York, the New York Skyliners, allies the Cerro loan of Montevideo, Uruguay, shared games at the Yankee Stadium with the New York Generals, representatives of the unofficial league.

The Generals were a truly bizarre patchwork of players from Argentina, Brazil, England (most free transfer agents from the lower reaches of the huge Football League) and West Indians.

"I wasn't getting any passes from the Argentinians," complained a little Yorkshire forward called Mickey Ash. "Then I realized that I was calling Alan, Plas and Ples. Man! Right back in that team was a tall, blond, thin, with a little bit of a limp, called Luis Cesar Monti. He is now coach of the Argentinian World Cup team which will play host in the finals of the tournament next year."

science

Halley's Comet: one chance in a century

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

For scientists who want to intercept Halley's comet, the opportunity of a lifetime may run afoul of President Carter's economy drive.

It is an opportunity to study a body that may represent some of the primordial material from which the sun and planets formed — a body that may contain chemicals that are forerunners of organic life.

For the first time in history, space scientists could intercept this body on one of its rare (once-in-76-years) visits near the sun.

Although Halley won't rendezvous with the sun until 1986, to come close, a rocket probe must be launched by 1982. So work must be funded and started right away. That, says Daniel H. F. Herman of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Office of Space Science, means asking for an extra \$20 million to \$25 million in NASA's fiscal 1978 budget. In the era of zero-based budgeting, he adds, that would be an unpopular thing to do.

If earlier approval of funds seems unthinkable in the current budgetary climate, so too does foregoing the Halley mission, at least from a scientific point of view.

Halley, Dr. Belton notes, is the archetype of what a comet should be. Near the sun, it displays all the classical cometary phenomena — a violent effusion of dust and gas vaporized

from the comet by solar heat and typified by the brilliant cometary tail. Yet, in spite of its strong interaction with the sun, Halley has had relatively few such encounters compared to comets that return more frequently.

So it is thought to be relatively unspoiled, retaining the primitive characteristics it acquired when the solar system formed. This makes Halley the comet of choice for the first close-up investigation. Add to this the fact that it won't return to the solar system for another 76 years after this next apparition and you can see why scientists are reluctant to pass up the present opportunity, Dr. Belton says.

In view of the Belton committee, comets are "unique free probes of the interplanetary medium." They are believed to be composed largely of ices of water and some other compounds such as methane plus some dust. Their composition may be similar to that of interplanetary dust clouds that condense to form stars and planets.

Just as do these dust clouds, so comets may contain a mix of organic chemicals, some of which might be precursors of organic life. Indeed, the committee points out, comets crashing into the atmospheres of young planets may seed them with such chemicals. "Are we all descended from comets which brought the vital elements for life to the surface of the Earth in ancient times?"

"It is an arresting thought," the committee

observes, but "it is not now a leading theory." Dr. Belton notes. The only way one can find out whether or not such speculation has a sound basis — or learn anything else incisive about the nature of comets, he adds — is to send instruments to study them.

Partly because of the complex maneuvering involved, it is not feasible to launch such probes from the ground today. So the strategy would be to lift a probe into Earth orbit using the shuttle. Then a highly maneuverable, low-thrust propulsion system would be used for the main journey.

NASA has considered two such propulsion systems — the solar sail and the ion rocket. The one would literally be a huge, light sail that would "sail" with the pressure of light coming from the sun just as ships on Earth sail with the wind. The other system would be a low thrust (a pound of thrust or less) rocket that uses electrically charged particles (ions) for its propellant. Operating continually, such a rocket could build up respectable speeds.

The Belton committee now has decided to pass over the sail in favor of the low-thrust rocket. Using this, the probe would rendezvous with Halley before the comet reached the sun. It would keep company with Halley as it rounded the sun, observing all that happened to the comet. Then it might dock gently with the comet's nucleus to measure its composition directly. On future missions, Dr. Belton says, a sample of comet might be returned to Earth.

Politics damage scientific fraternity

By Robert C. Cowen
Speaking as immediate past president of the American Chemical Society, Nobel prize-winner Glenn Seaborg has urged the scientific community, with its traditional internationalism, to take a lead

Research notebook

"In strengthening the prospects for a cooperative and peaceful world."

It's a noble thought often voiced by leading scientists. But Seaborg should look to the political realities. Scientists themselves have begun to erode their internationalism in a way that mocks his vision.

In August, the International

Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (IUGG) — a nongovernmental group supposedly representing scientists as scientists — ejected Taiwan to embrace Peking. This flouts the policy of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), to which IUGG belongs, "that all the Scientific Unions of ICSU adhere to the principle of University of Science and not exclude from membership any community of scientists which effectively represent the scientific activity in a definite territory."

ICSU acted after the International Union of Geological Sciences, another ICSU member, tossed out Taiwan last year. At that time, critics of the action warned that allowing politics to intrude over the universality of science and its freedom from politics.

eventually corrode the universality of science.

This point now is underscored by the fact that some countries didn't bother even to send scientists to the August meeting of the "nongovernmental" IUGG at Durham, England, at which Taiwan was expelled. They sent representatives from their London embassies to cast the votes instead. Far from being shocked, a number of other representatives, who were scientists, came with firm orders from their governments or academies on how to vote.

As Nature, the premier international scientific journal, observed: Certainly such actions don't seem to match up in any way to the grand talk of the universality of science and its freedom from politics.

Scientists and refusing passports to "left-wingers" such as chemist Linus Pauling. There is less of this sort of restriction now, although Israeli or South African scientists sometimes have visa troubles and many countries restrict their own citizens.

But it has always been one thing for governments to disregard "the principle of Universality of Science." It is quite another thing for scientists themselves to ignore it and acquiesce, as apparently many of them do, in politicizing their organizations over the "two Chinas" issue. If Peking won't sit down with Taiwan, that is Peking's decision. This should not be allowed to erode the comradeship of scientists.

Leaders such as Seaborg should lend their considerable prestige to support universality in practice, not just in theory, and work to keep politics in its place.

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education

How many forks make three?

By Marian R. Carlson

Maths! To some adults the word conjures up unpleasant memories of wrestling with percentages, long division, and quizzes on fractions. But most young children enjoy counting, weighing, measuring, and other activities associated with numbers. So how can parents encourage a child's interest in math and help to promote a positive attitude on the subject?

"The Mother's Almanac" by Marguerite Kelly and Ella Parsons (New York: Doubleday) offers one realistic answer: "A child keeps his fresh awareness of mathematics as long as it is applicable and practical." This valuable guide encourages parents to make use of the everyday opportunities to emphasize awareness of numbers.

Following is just a sample of activities to help make numbers "applicable and practical."

Counting. Although many children can count by rote to 100, their grasp of abstract concepts needs to be fostered by practical experiences. Letting a child count out the forks or pieces of cake, one per person, for example, teaches rational counting, the opposite of parroting numbers. Counting objects, whether they are beans or buses, helps a child to connect the numerals (one, two, three, etc.) with the numbers they represent.

Shapes. Using the names of sphere, cube, triangle, rectangle, etc., to describe objects helps a child recognize likenesses and differences in our daily lives. Children enjoy sorting buttons, making sequences of shells and leaves, and pairing different shaped beads. This heightens awareness of shapes. Also, playing a game to find parallel or perpendicular lines in a room, or cylinders on a playground, provides practical evidence of various shapes in a child's day environment.

Measurement. "Is tomorrow the next day after this?" questioned a four-year-old. Measurement of time and distance are concepts that a young child can learn to grasp through practical application. In building with blocks, for instance, a child discovers for himself the relationship of a 4-inch block to an 8-inch or a 12-inch block.

Other measuring activities children enjoy are finding the time it takes to run a 40-yard dash across the yard, measuring the size of the garden and the distance between plants, and measuring the ounces of chocolate chips which go into the cookies. The metric system can be introduced by a continuing game of finding how many places metric units are listed such as on grocery items and road signs.

As children progress in math, they can apply their growing knowledge to more practical situations, such as comparison shopping, double-checking the addition on your receipts, recording expenses on a family trip, or keeping a record of gasoline purchases and mileage. These types of experiences will not guarantee a child will later have an affinity for algebra, but they will help to weave the world of numbers into a child's life.

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Fabrics of the '70s: Floral prints

By Evelyn Radcliffe
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Of all the handsome home furnishings seen at Designer's Row during the recent Home Furnishings Market, fabrics were perhaps the most dramatic. Bold and ethnic prints as well as flamboyant florals splashed brilliant color everywhere. Many major fabric mills seem to have gathered colorful bouquets and translated them into yardage.

But it is the floral prints — in small or large patterns — that receive the most attention. Like those in the Strömberg and Romann "Chelsea Flower Collection," for example. Inspiration for these dazzling fabrics was the 80-year-old Chelsea Flower Show in London. With all designs on 100 percent cotton, the collection includes large-scale drawings of gladioli and leaves; a mass of delphinium and shasta daisies; a timeless array of old-fashioned favorites such as hollyhocks and geraniums (on chintz), and huge bouquets of daisies and iris.



Daisies and iris print fabric

If grass will grow on concrete it will grow in your front garden!

By Peter Tonge

Marysville, Ohio
If you think your soil is too poor to grow a good lawn, consider for a moment the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Wyn Behrens of this picturesque little town.

For 10 years they grew a showcase front lawn on solid concrete! Back in 1965 the publisher of the Marysville Journal Tribune agreed that research scientists with O. M. Scott & Sons could use their front yard for a lawn-on-concrete demonstration. It proved to be an outstanding success.

In a move that startled lawn-growing neighbors from up to three blocks away, the Behrens' front yard was covered with four inches of concrete — lot line to lot line.

It wasn't quite the crazy idea it at first seemed because the Scott's researchers had grown lawn on concrete, macadam, and other hard surfaces for several years, but now they wanted to expose it to the real world, so to speak.

Turf overlay

After the concrete had set hard, three-quarter-inch turf was laid down and fertilized. Each year the lawn received five applications of fertilizer (one more than the recommended application for a soil-grown lawn). However, the lawn had to be watered several times a week — every day during hot, dry weather.

The lawn flourished, and when it was finally taken up two years ago, the original three-quarter-inch sod had become 3 inches thick as old roots had decayed to form additional soil for the new roots.

Why was such a great lawn taken up anyway? Because it was only a demonstration to show that poor soil was no deterrent to a good lawn, says company spokesman William Burns. And the Behrens wanted to plant trees and shrubs which was almost impossible on concrete. Moreover, no one really wants to water a lawn so frequently.

Some lawn

For my part, I visited a lawn-on-concrete test site at the Scott Company headquarters that has been maintained for the best part of a quarter century and I could



not detect where the concrete lay off and the soil base began. On concrete, however, I was able to life up the thick sod, as I could a carpet in my own home.

As mentioned earlier, however, the point of all this is to underscore that a lawn can be grown on any type of soil given a reasonable amount of sun.

In the weeks ahead, as the weather begins to cool off, some of the best opportunities exist for building up the quality of your soil-based lawn. You can readily make sure that you have a greener lawn in the fall, a stronger one going into winter, and one that greens up early in the spring.

To accomplish this, lawns in the cooler regions of the world should be fertilized

in late summer and again in late fall. Food that is not needed for immediate growth is stored by the roots for an early and vigorous burst into life come spring.

Best for seeding

This period of the year is also the best for seed germination. So, thicken up your lawn now by overseeding with your preferred grass type at half the rate for establishing a new lawn. In other words, if the seed package indicates it will cover 1,000 square feet, it contains enough seed for twice that area of overseeding.

Start by mowing the lawn as short as possible without scalping the higher spots. Now, using a power rake or hand rake, remove thatch and grass cuttings so that new seed can reach the exposed soil. Scratch the soil surface a little to make a better seed bed.

Feed with a fertilizer that is rich in phosphorus to stimulate root growth, and top-dress by sowing the seed. (A spreader will assure even distribution of both seed and fertilizer.) Until new grass seedlings are up to mowing height it will be necessary to water the lawn twice each week during dry weather. Soak well, to assure deep water penetration.

Set the mower to 1½ inches and mow regularly, removing the clippings should they threaten to smother the seedlings. Fertilize again 4 to 6 weeks after planting. Never use a weed killer when sowing seed as the two are not compatible.

Finally, save all the nitrogen-rich lawn clippings and dig them lightly into the soil of your flower and vegetable garden beds. This way you will get double value out of your lawn fertilizer. It's well worth the effort.

MONITOR RECIPE

The unique flavor of fresh tarragon adds a great deal to sauces, meats, and salads and it has a special affinity for chicken.

Here is a recipe that depends mostly on the fresh herb. It can be made with dried tarragon, of course, but is not as good. If you must use the dry, substitute 1 teaspoon crushed tarragon. However, this herb is at its best used fresh or when frozen or preserved in vinegar.



Sautéed chicken with tarragon

- 2 chicken breasts, boned
- ¼ cup flour seasoned with
- ¼ teaspoon salt and
- ¼ teaspoon pepper
- 2 tablespoons fresh tarragon, finely chopped (or 1 teaspoon dried)
- ¼ cup cream

Wipe chicken thoroughly with damp towel, then dry. Dredge evenly in seasoned flour. Melt butter in skillet and sauté over medium heat until golden on both sides, about 10 minutes or less. Don't cook too long or chicken will not be tender.

Move chicken to side of pan, add a pat of butter. If necessary, add tarragon, mixing with butter. Cook about 2 minutes more, turning chicken to coat it well with tarragon. Remove chicken to platter, turn heat to low and add cream. Deglaze pan by stirring cream to remove all bits from bottom of pan. Pour cream with bits of tarragon over chicken.

travel

Biarritz on the cheap

By Jeffrey Robinson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

There was a time when the only people who came here were kings, queens, barons, dukes, earls, and generally anyone over age 85. In those days Biarritz was, to say the least, very quiet.

After the war, when royalty dried up somewhat, Biarritz got even quieter. If that is possible. Then came the 1960s and someone carried a surfboard down to the beach and teenagers from the Basque country brought new life to the town.

Because it is a beach resort which is anything but mild in the winter, the season in Biarritz is confined to July and August. For the most part only the native French, with some wealthy Parisians and a few Britons, seem to find their way here. Too many people on the Continent still consider Biarritz to be passé.

You get there from Paris by car or train, heading for Bordeaux and then down the coast toward the Spanish border. There is a daily plane service from Paris only, although there is summer service from other French cities.

Biarritz is snuggled up against the Pyrenees with sand beaches, a strong fresh surf, good food, cheaper prices than the Riviera, and a Basque spirit which is friendlier than anything you will find in Paris. The kids with their surfboards hang out at The Wall, while the non-surfers congregate at the Old Port or the Miramar restaurants for the traditional three-hour lunch.

Hotels along the beachfront are expensive. Smaller, brighter, more fun pensions can be found a block or two off the water's edge. Figure \$35 for a double with bath at a hotel but \$15 for a double without bath in a pension.

Because the restaurant situation is what it is, check out the possibility of demi-pension. It



French Government Tourist Office

Biarritz is not so passé after all

will work out generally a bit cheaper and better, too, if the elderly lady in the pension is only cooking for you and her family. Taking full pension means you must return at lunchtime, and that will hamper your sightseeing.

The problem with restaurants in Biarritz is they tend to be overpriced, and it is hard to find one that is exceptional. The local Basque specialties are usually listed à la carte and include fish soup, grilled Dorade, poulet Basque (a variation on a baked chicken), and pipera, the local answer to vegetable stew.

The latter consists of tomatoes, peppers, and other vegetables all cooked together, ending up on plates in the Basque country the way French fries do at American drive-ins. It gets

mixed up in omelets and is eaten hot, cold, and a hundred other ways.

One additional word about food, and that is about meat. Biarritz is off the beaten path and although the local is very good, steaks tend to be a little tough. The steaks must come from Germany or Spain, and if you believe the adage that there isn't a good filet or T-bone to be had in all of France, it is doubly true in this part of France.

There is horseback riding at the Manage Pécoste at 28 Rue Lavignerie, and motor scooters can be rented at Maison Arosteguy, at 5 Avenue Victor Hugo. Concerts are not frequent, but they do exist.

You can explore the surrounding towns and

countryside easily by car or public transportation, but be sure to find out about return schedules if you are on a bus or train or you might end up spending the night in the country. Head for Arcangues, an old Basque village about two miles from Biarritz to find out what this region used to be all about.

Bayonne is the biggest city in the area — a French city where the Basques have made their mark. The "Fêtes De Bayonne" are made up of bull fighting, cow racing, fist fights, singing, and fireworks. It is the French answer to San Fermín in Pamplona, and it is held the first week in August. The local fête in Biarritz is calmer and takes place in mid-August.

One thing that should not be missed in Bayonne is the Basque Museum. It would be illegal a few miles farther west, over the border in Spain, but here the Basques and their traditional way of life are preserved. There are murals of Basque legends, a replica of a Basque home, and an underground Basque chapel.

On the other side of Biarritz is St. Jean-de-Luz, a charming fishing village near the Spanish border. And in this town you will find some decent small restaurants. They abound along the Rue de la République but check out the menus before choosing one. On the other side of the harbor is Ciboure, an even smaller village that is worth the drive.

Getting into Spain is not all that difficult, and the big town across the border is San Sebastian. It rivals Bayonne in size and things to do. It is an easy drive. Buses are more difficult and trains at best are confusing. There are two trains that make the run. You go to the French border stop at Hendaye, then continue on to Irún for Spanish customs and a change of trains — French trains can't come into Spain because the tracks are not the same gauge.

SINCF, the French Railway system will tell you the schedules for the direct run. But there is another way. At Hendaye you can catch a train to Irún, and then take a Spanish train into San Sebastian. There are frequent trains between Irún and San Sebastian, but connections with France are less frequent, so the tiny, almost unknown train that runs between the two towns comes in handy. The only problem is that in Irún you must change stations for the trains to San Sebastian.

The fiefdom of Sark — a 16th-century island

By Guernsey Le Pelley

In the English Channel there are a cluster of romantic, enchanted islands, that many outside Great Britain may not know of. Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm, and Jethou are so abundantly favored by nature, so temperate in climate, and enjoy a life so close to the 16th century that the word "enchanted" is not used extravagantly.

On Guernsey the streets are still winding, steep, and narrow. Tourists find the brick and stone streets inviting and full of intriguing souvenirs at moderate prices.

Castle Cornet stands guard over the harbor. King John ordered its construction in 1204. It dominates the waterfront in St. Peter Port and stamps a mark of endurance on a town of ageless beauty.

On all the islands there are an abundance of rocky coves and sandy beaches. The pressures of a modern, casino-equipped resort are thickly missing.

Underlying the gentle people is a rugged island character. If the islands were less rugged they might long ago have been sunk by the influx of stampeding tourists. But since the customs, laws, and even the Gulf Stream weather are well entrenched, it is, in the end, the tourist who is conquered. And not without some sadness, since those who travel there from afar and fall in love with this peaceful world must sooner or later go away again. Only British citizens may stay and purchase a home.

Herm and Jethou are only tiny green chips in the surrounding blue, but are popular hideaways for sunning and swimming. Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney have a more respectable size, and even the modern luxury of an airport. It is often a surprise to the visitor to realize that the famous herds of dairy cattle bearing these names originated here.

Of all the islands, Sark is the most unique. It is an ancient, feudal island, with Seigneur Michel Beaumont as the reigning lord. Together with his vivacious wife, Diana, they help keep

the fiefdom an oasis of tranquility in a chaotic world. There are no cars, factories, airplanes, or even insecticides — in short, no pollution. But there are birds, butterflies, and flowers in abundance.

The island rises into a rocky plateau, 800 feet above the water, so a trip to the beach is somewhat vertical. But thousands of visitors find their way to Sark each year even though there are only five tiny hotels. Rooms in private houses help in welcoming the traveler.

Evidently people do not keep going back to Sark for excitement, only for peace of mind. "Although," the seigneur admits, "there is the legend of buried treasure, which is guarded by the century-old ghost of a former seigneur, Pierre Le Pelley."

It may be partly true that these tiny places, in order to exist, need to have the world come knocking at their door in order to survive economically. But it is true that Sark needs the world; it is even more true that the world needs Sark, and all it has to give.

Guernsey Le Pelley is The Christian Science Monitor's editorial cartoonist. He says he may be the only cartoonist whose family stems unbrokenly from the Channel Islands — with the possible exception of Paul Revere, that is.

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arts/books

Child-tested picture books from Europe

By Eric Baker
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Discovering beautiful picture books for children is rather like coming upon hidden treasure, because they are seldom available in all their great variety even in the best known bookshops.

Following are a few that have been thoroughly tried and tested by myself, my children, and grandchildren. They have withstood that test and remain thumbled with much use but with content unfaded by time.

Take, for instance, Johnny Crow's Garden, a masterpiece by Leslie Brooke first published in 1903 and still as fresh as ever (Warne, £1.95). The story, written in rhyme is about the birds and animals assembling in Johnny Crow's garden. Every opening offers one of Leslie Brooke's inimitable line or color illustrations.

It was surely a complete stroke of genius that inspired Pat Hutchins to give us Rosie's Walk (Bodley Head, £1.00). Rosie, the hen, purposefully sets out on a walk unaware that she is being stalked by a hungry fox. The fox encounters all sorts of near disasters so that Rosie reaches home safely, still totally oblivious of the existence of her pursuer. This simple but profound tale is so clearly illustrated that it takes only 32 words to tell.

Another great favorite is Eric Carle's The Very Hungry Caterpillar (Hamish Hamilton, £1.00). Here an endearing and colorful caterpillar eats his way through the week as well as through the cunningly devised holes in the pages of this book until he can eat no more. Then he changes into a cocoon from which emerges, on the last page, a beautiful butterfly with resplendent wings. A book that bears constant repetition.

In our family nursery rhymes began right from the start and one of the collections we never tire of is Lavender's Blue (Oxford, £5)

compiled by Kathleen Lines and illustrated by Harold Jones. It is a comprehensive collection of well-known and lesser known nursery rhymes, alphabet and number rhymes beautifully set out with a picture for each number. Cradle songs, nursery games, story rhymes, riddles are most sympathetically illustrated in gentle colors and black and white, in a way that has lasting appeal.

A more recent collection, destined to be with us for a long time, is Nicola Bayley's Book of Nursery Rhymes (Cape, £1.95), illustrated with full color paintings of truly amazing detail which many a child of four or five will return to again and again.

Another deservedly popular book is Graham Oakley's The Church Mouse (Macmillan, £1.00), a humorous account of how Arthur, the Church Mouse and his thousands of mouse associates, helped to keep their English parish church all spick and span, in complete harmony with Samson, a meek and pious ginger cat who lives in peace with all God's creatures. How they outwit a marauder who tries to steal the church silver is told in word and picture that gives lasting pleasure to adult as well as to child audiences; a most important quality when reading aloud.

For sheer charm and gaiety there is little to surpass Quentin Blake's Patrick (Cape, £1.95) about an Irishman who buys an old violin and plays ill fishes fly, trees bear colored fruit, bird's feathers turn to brighter hues, children dance, and an old man is cured of his ailments. It is a comic extravaganza so appropriate to Quentin Blake's spiky and lively drawings.

Visitors to London especially would enjoy an unusual picture book by one of England's most prolific book illustrators, Charles Keeping. Entitled Richard (Oxford, £2.25) it describes in pictures a day in the life of a famous police horse. Through the eyes of this highly individualistic and painstaking craftsman, we see Richard being groomed and fed in the early morning,



By a staff photographer

Favorite books last forever

taught to control crowds, taking part in a royal procession and then in the evening enjoying a rubdown, a drink and a feed before he retires to his warm straw bed.

One of the lovely picture books which children enjoy in France and which gives us enormous pleasure is a recently published Histoire d'Edouard by Philippe Dumas (Flammarion, £2.70). Edouard is a most talented donkey who ventures among humans with his ears hidden under a hat, until he finds happiness with a pretty white she-donkey. Told with wit and charm it is accompanied by tender and light-hearted illustrations in black-and-white and color.

Edouard's charms have spread across the Channel and he is also available in English as The Story of Edward (Dent, £1.50).

Another book of haunting beauty and harmony is Volenti Pigeons Volenti by Marie Morel, illustrated by Mila Boutan (Grassel-Jeunesse, £3.40). This is a simple poem illustrated with varied techniques - collage, drawing and painting - describing the sky from

Eric Baker is the founder of a London bookshop specializing in books for children in English, French, and German.

DON'T MISS THIS NOVEL

"Short Visit to Ergon" BY R. M. OSBORN

"Couldn't put it down," says one delighted reader. "Read it in one sitting. Fastidious beyond words." Look forward to reading it too!

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Short Visit to Ergon is an exciting tale of adventure, mystery, action, suspense, and a little bit of science fiction. It is a story of a planet not previously known to Earthmen and millions of other beings in space.

He is glad to find the Ergonians are not grotesque little green men with alien skin, but a race of intelligent beings, like himself. He is looking for an intelligent being who can help him to escape from the planet. He is looking for a friend who can help him to escape from the planet.

He quickly discovers that Ergon is much like Earth, green and fertile, warm and friendly. He is looking for a friend who can help him to escape from the planet. He is looking for a friend who can help him to escape from the planet.

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The 31st Festival When all Edinburgh became a theatre

By J. W. Lambert

Edinburgh

The 31st Edinburgh Festival was not unduly dismayed by financial stringency or by the transport problems afflicting Britain because of airport staff turbulence. It opened Aug. 21 with its usual service of dedication in St. Giles Cathedral and the most truly popular event of all - the procession, which takes an hour and a half to pass, of carnival floats accompanied by assorted pipers, silver bands, and, on this occasion, by a hundred or so attractive young persons from Monache, California.

Artistically speaking the Festival swung along its three-week course with an invigorating mixture of high-quality performances and passionate real-life drama.

The latter is strictly speaking nothing to do with the Festival, but has become an unscheduled attraction. For many years the City of Edinburgh dithered about whether or not to build itself a new opera house. Costs having escalated, and Edinburgh's nose having been put out of joint by Glasgow's own splendid opera house, the idea was last year finally turned down.

What to do with the reserved site? The adjoining municipal theater (one of the half-dozen best in Britain) desperately needs better backstage facilities and a new studio auditorium. But the city council, meeting in solemn convocation, decided instead to build a new luxury hotel - with half-hearted suggestions, believed in by nobody, that the theater's interests might somehow be incorporated in the new development.

Real-life drama

At the crucial meeting tension mounted. The vote came out equal. It was for the Lord Provost (Mayor) to give the casting vote. He is Chairman of the Festival Committee. Only the day before he had been assuring assembled journalists of the great importance he attached to Edinburgh's cultural life. A mixture of rage and stupefaction followed when, at this public meeting, he voted, in effect, against the theater.

So demonstrations burgeoned; all the theater people gathered in the city stamped about carrying banners and the newspapers were full of

editorials and letters nicely alternating sorrow and anger.

Meanwhile the Festival's on-stage drama produced a magnificent double act. The Prospect Theatre Company, Britain's best (and very properly subsidized) touring company, now has its base in London's famous Old Vic theatre, but it also has a long association with the Edinburgh Festival. There it performs in the unlikely ambience of the Church of Scotland's spectacular Assembly Hall, its craggy Victorian Gothic skyline starkly silhouetted on the Mound high above Princes Street.

The shade of John Knox

This year the shadow of that fiery old Puritan denouncer John Knox retreats before the sensual calamities of Antony and Cleopatra in two dramatically triumphant versions of their story. The first of course is Shakespeare's. "Can this cockpit hold," he asked, "the vasty foulds of France?" Well, the Assembly Hall auditorium redesigned so that it really was a cockpit, held Rome and Egypt in splendor. Nicholas Georgiadis designed superb Elizabethan costumes.

The production, by Toby Robertson, had great immediacy and a fresh approach. Dorothy Tutin's Cleopatra was a sharp, radiant little lady, and Alec McCowen's Antony was not a besotted old man but a great one, of commanding intelligence, in the grip of something stronger than himself. What we were given was not merely people brought low by passion, but passion and intelligence themselves at war.

Dryden's royal lovers, on the other hand, in "All for Love" - a play virtually never seen - really did believe, as his subtitle claims, "the world well lost" for love. Nobody expected this imitation of the French classical grand manner to work. But in Frank Hauser's production it magnificently did - aided by a very English injection, by Dryden, of pervasive sardonic humor.

Stately verse

This time, too, the costumes were those of the play's period, building a late 17th-century world of towering wigs and stiff, heraldic, and plicated cloaks in richly decorated panoply. Barbara Jefford and John Turner found and projected immense warmth and humanity in

the stately verse as they cast the great world away.

Assorted mishaps restricted foreign drama to one performance of Kleist's early 19th-century tongue-in-cheek romantic pantomime "Käthchen von Heilbronn," turned into a jolly circus romp with sinister undercurrents by the State Theatre from Stuttgart.

Other high points of theater were Rex Harrison as Bernard Shaw lecturing us on the English theater in the '60s, an English tribute from the Nottingham Playhouse Company to a great American, Mark Twain, and another by the grotesque English comedian Max Wall to Buster Keaton.

Three hundred dramas

And then there was that famous institution "The Fringe," originally a few unofficial late-night shows, but now an amazing rash of amateur, semi-professional, experimental, or conventional shows which occupy every schoolroom, church hall, warehouse, and loft in the city. In drama alone there were some 300 productions, half of them now and half of them put on by educational establishments ranging from Cambridge University (which sent seven companies) to the University of Rhode Island Summer Ensemble. Indeed I could fill this page with a list of Americana to this tumult of dramatic endeavour. What I cannot do is report that anything has this year turned up to set everybody talking - as did, famously, Tom Stoppard's "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead." But the mishmash of plays, earnest documentaries, rock operas, satirical revues, puppets, mimes, one-man shows, dancers, and diseases made a fine free and easy fairground for young enthusiasts to inspire one another and come to terms with public - often a very small public - performances.

In the official program, ballet and the visual arts had their modest place, but of course music crowned the festival. Every morning, recitals set the tone with song (including some from the magisterial Jessye Norman) and string quartets (including the Cleveland, pride of Marlborough, though not at their best this year). The Usher Hall welcomed - though most critics did not - a spanking new choral work by a local composer, Arthur Oldham. His "Psalms in Time of War," unashamedly exhilarating, was buried over joyfully by the 250-

strong Edinburgh Festival Chorus and the Scottish National Orchestra under Sir Alexander Gibson.

Soviet conductor

Giulini, an Edinburgh festival regular, gave us Mozart's Requiem and Bruckner's Eighth Symphony with the New Philharmonia from London, and the Amsterdam Concertgebouw under the Soviet conductor Kyril Kondrashin offered four richly built programs.

But the prime star this year was the opera. Modestly taking second place is a new work, "Mary, Queen of Scots," by Thea Musgrave, who not only wrote the music but also the libretto and topped all by conducting as well. Talk of the town, and a resounding success, was a new production of "Carmen." Directed with some subtlety by Piero Faggoni, a magnificent vocal quartet - Teresa Berganza, singing the title role for the first time to general acclamation, Placido Domingo, Mirella Freni, and Tom Krause - set, so to speak, the tone, all the better for singing in the relatively small King's Theatre, under the zesty and watchful eye of Claudio Abbado.

Poorly financed

He, of course, came from La Scala in Milan. And there, it seems, after this festival, goes Peter Diamond, the festival's artistic director for the last eight years - a longer tenure than most can manage, and not the less remarkable since he has kept standards high in a period when inflation and a falling pound have made the financing of the operation increasingly difficult. Just how difficult may be illustrated by the simple fact that during its whole 31 years the Edinburgh Festival has received only £3¼ million (\$5¼ million) by way of subsidy, whereas the Salzburg Festival offering far less, gets the equivalent of £3¼ million (\$8 million) every year.

Mr. Lambert is drama critic for the London Sunday Times.

Correction

We regret that, due to a printing error, last week's art review carried a headline and photograph that properly belonged to the above article on Edinburgh.

Solzhenitsyn's latest poem: memorial to a battle

Prussian Nights, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. London: Collins. £3.75.

By Victor Hovell

It is January 1945. The remnants of the tattered German Army are everywhere in retreat. Behind them, the victorious Russian forces are advancing through Prussia unresisted on foot and on horseback, in Dodge and Chevrolets, with "Yankee" half-tracks pulling Russian B3-type guns, and later with an Opel Blitz command car liberated from the Wehrmacht.

Comrade Captain Solzhenitsyn is in charge of a battery in the advance, and "Prussian Nights" is his vivid memorial of

Book review

that experience. It is told in verse because it was composed in a prison camp where Solzhenitsyn was forbidden to write. Verbalization made it easier to memorize.

With rapid brush-strokes Solzhenitsyn sets a scene of looting, burning, and reprisal. The Russian soldiers are on a spree, like wide-eyed children in a gigantic Disneyland where everything is up for grabs. Their behavior is by turns comic and savage. Two Uzbeks squabble in a puddle of snow. They've both grabbed an opera cloak and won't let go of it. With one stroke of his bayonet a Russian soldier slices the cloak in half and shouts, "Here, now; both of you can have it."

A pathetic German baker comes forward from one village square, offering fresh rolls and bread. He has been a communist for years, he declares. "Twelve years now I've waited for you," he says, expecting to be greeted with brotherly affection. He is stunned by his chilly reception, by the suspicion with which he is detained for interrogation by "field security."

There are grimmer moments, wanton destruction, senseless shootings. Old grievances rankle in Russian hearts from the days of World War I. And yet, in Prussian cottages the comrades discover well-stocked libraries, and among the books, those of their own countryman, Dostoyevsky.

Behind the moments of exhilaration and the episodes of horror, Solzhenitsyn's "Comrade Captain" broods like the conscience of war. Like Shakespeare's Henry V, the battery cap-



Bridphoto

Solzhenitsyn: over his 'Prussian Nights' broods the Spirit of Phibes

tain knows that no commander can control the wanton behavior of his men. "We may," as Henry puts it, "as bootless spend our vain command/ Upon the enraged soldiers in their spoil/ As send precepts to the Leviathan/ To come ashore."

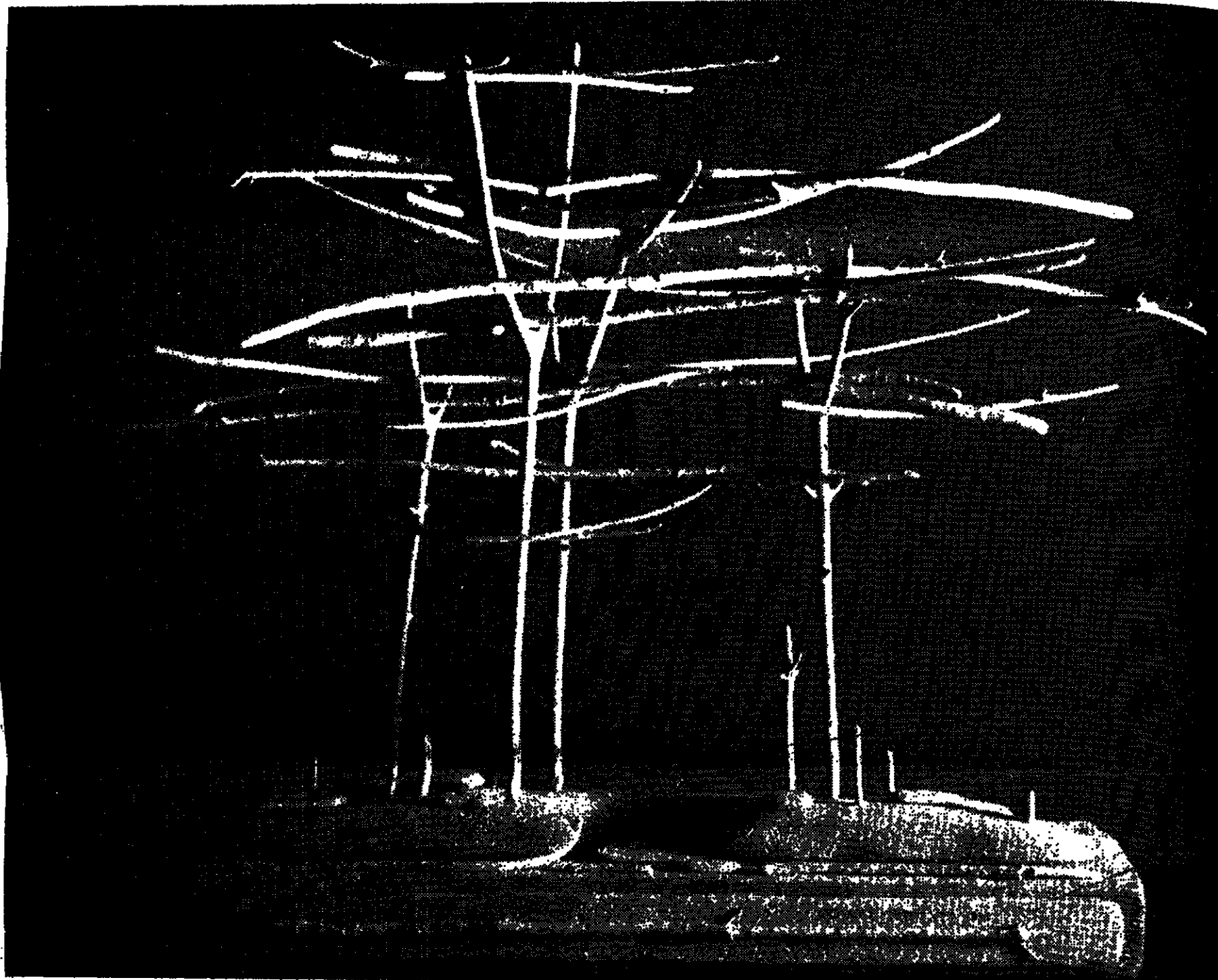
Where Solzhenitsyn goes beyond Henry V is in showing how even the "Comrade Captain" is drawn to share in the spoils of war. He, too, is but human, and while at first holding himself in check by the teachings of conscience, in the end he yields to the promptings that tell him to "Seize the day," to be a child of the time.

But "Prussian Nights" is no tale of guilt over lost in-

nocence. Neither is it a tale of single-minded brutality. It is closer in spirit to Hardy's "Dynasts," over which broods the Spirit of Phibes; than to Homer's "Iliad," over which presides the cold fury of Fate.

Solzhenitsyn now lives in Vermont, an exile since 1974 from the Russia that imprisoned him, while he wrote this early poem. His vignette is here translated superbly by Robert Conquest, who makes the Russian ballet-meters canter and gallop as if he had trained them himself.

Victor Hovell is a poet, essayist, and novelist who teaches English at Northeastern University.



'Grove #3' 1975: Wood assemblage by Hubert Long

Portent

Restless dew, disturbed like dust,
Fallen eudaimonous grandeur,
Fluid air that taunts parched ground,
Breath that shows in warmer air,
Define the clear invisible!

Wafting, wafting, air's extremity —
Now the smaller movements pass us;
Movement now shifts, movement leaves,
Now the wind in phantoms.

Shapes abrupt, observed concretely
Specters formed, a new-turned road —
Groping on from fact to fact
In ethereal unfamiliar.

And now the glare of filtered sun
Disperses delicious doubtful.

Eddie Cohen

A work one could inhabit

I sometimes see a work of art I wish I could inhabit. I am not content just to look at it, analyze it, admire it, but I want to enter it, to understand it from the inside out rather than the outside in. This impulse is not a response to "participatory art," which deliberately engages the viewer by inviting him to touch it, hold it, play with it, sit on it; rearrange it, or whatever, but to art that captivates without trying.

"Grove No. 3" by the Australian born artist Hubert Long is one of those artworks that, in its simplicity, evokes the perfect tranquility to which we all aspire. One senses that the slightest sound would shatter the peace, the slightest movement destroy the fragile balance. It is a winter landscape devoid of vegetation, an ethereal landscape of skeletal simplicity.

Artistically it reminds one of a drawing in space. Its lines sketched in twig rather than pencil or ink. Mr. Long finds his bits of wood "on the beach, in the woods, and in the hills" around East Hampton on Long Island where he lives. He does not call it driftwood but

"found wood" recalling the Dadaists and their famous "found objects" with which they asserted that any media could qualify as art. Here Mr. Long achieves the ultimate in ironic realism and recycling — he uses wood to depict wood, the object to stand for itself. The work is not entirely literal however, as if he had represented a tree with a tree, for the artist's contribution is to create the form that carries the double entendre.

The construction of his sculptures is almost as natural as the materials. Rather than hails the artist uses a minimal amount of glue and handmade dowels, with only an occasional and unavoidable metal pin. The parts are joined so delicately and unobtrusively that one barely notices, and the whole looks as self-supporting as a mobile or an arch. This illusion reinforces the impression of immateriality and the work actually appears more two-dimensional than three, like a drawing or even a weaving suspended in space. This is a grove which the mind enters, not to wander but to contemplate in a spirit of infinite repose.

Diana Loecherer

Bells

The
earth's round rim
now summer-sweet
breasts
the branching
green-leaf trees:
nests
the fluttering
soft-winged birds
and
sings
an evening lullabye

the
ever-circling
endless song
rings
high in the hills
and
deep in the meadows —
the
song of earth
a song of promise
within
the chapel of the bells.

Yvette Abrams

Tu Fu's compassion for mankind

By the city wall a flute mourns the dusk,
Over the village market a few wings pass . . .

wrote Tu Fu in the 8th century. To many he was the premier poet of China but so neglected by his contemporaries that he was not even included in an anthology till a century or more after his passing.

The nature of poetry greatly interested the Chinese. In the course of their history the art has been defined in a plethora of ways, ranging from profound analyses to the bland complacency of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung who reigned with conspicuous success from 1736 to 1795 and who asserted that "poetry is the expression of the writer's loyalty to the throne and piety towards his parents. Poetry that does not fulfill these functions I do not count as poetry at all." As he was a Manchu, and an alien dynasty, this should not be imputed to the Chinese.

Yet it is true that China has always been governed autocratically and writers obliged to contend with a strict and suspicious censorship, whoever held the reins. A perennial situation.

Still, this Manchu sentiment would hardly have been aired by a T'ang ruler in that great age of poetry (618-906). After a certain interval of confusion the T'ang was succeeded by the Sung, whose immortality rests in its paintings, and it has often been noted that the poetry of the one seemed to have been transmuted into the painting of the other — the genius was constant, the form varied. Certainly the beautiful Sung scrolls send out a strong poetic flavor, a wordless verse. It became a cliché to say that an artist painted poems, a poet wrote pictures. In both arts more was suggested than stated, each had a strong yet light essence, vital and vibrant, and the reader/viewer seemed to be led, in a mood of gentle melancholy, towards some infinite concept.

Chinese poetry, sensitive, not sentimental, is much more given to under than over statement. Usually short, as in the seven or five character lines of the brief lyrics, it embraces a theme with quick imagery, like the flick of a bird's wing. The language allows great play of rhyme and tone, which in the hands of verbal tricksters often degenerated into mere verbiage, but which a real poet could employ with the most subtle shades.

During the T'ang, poetry was loosely divided into two broad streams, one romantic, free, and deriding the establishment; the other restrained and tender, full of love for humanity and deep compassion for the poor and oppressed. It was resigned, yet expressed a great loathing of war. Many important poets are included in one or the other category, Tu Fu belonging to the second.

Born in 718 he left, by 770, more than 1,500 poems, chiefly lyrics and written in a great variety of meters and forms. His creative work is now considered perfect, praised for covering the whole human pageant, and, as he lived during the time when the dynasty reached its height and then fell dramatically, he had a vast canvas to observe. He writes realistically, in styles which are sometimes rich; sometimes simple. He added a new dimension to the language by incorporating the colloquial terms of a vigorous and cosmopolitan age, tempering the customary classical and literary vocabulary. Much of this is inevitably

lost in translation. "Brimming Water" is an example:

"Under my feet the moon/Glides along the river./ Near midnight, a gusty lantern/ Shines in the heart of the night./ Along the sandbars/ flocks/ Of white egrets,/ Each one clenched like a fist./ In the wake of my barge/ The fish leap, cut the water,/ And dive and splash."

His family, scholar-officials, landowners, gentry distinguished by literary achievements, provided him with a privileged background, in spite of which this genius could never pass the civil service examinations which led to a proper career for a man of position. He was only able to secure minor and peripheral appointments at court, a disappointing arrangement.

Yet the times must have partly mitigated the bitterness of this situation for him, when in 755 a great rebellion, led by a man of Turkic extraction, An Lu-shan, tore the whole fabric of the dynasty in half. The usurper seized power, the Emperor fled, and his favorite, Yang Kuei-fei, was put to death in circumstances which inspired many a famous ballad. Though the resistance was eventually put down and the house of T'ang resumed its sway for another century and a half, it was never the same again; its glory had departed.

Tu Fu, conservative and loyalist, proclaimed his allegiance to his sovereign during these convulsive events, even though he enormously disapproved of the excesses which had brought the country to this pass. Himself a refugee, he commemorated the imperial days in verses which speak (for instance) of the bodies of those who had starved or frozen to death being found on the roads to the capital while within the vermilion gates the court banqueted. He describes the appearance of Ch'ang-an after the revolt, the houses shut up, the pleasure gardens empty, the revels ended. The whole nature of the city had changed.

"The capital is in ruins, all that is left are the hills and rivers;/ In spring its streets lie deep in grass and trees;/ In sorrow for the times the very flowers are weeping/ And the birds flutter in grief at the sad farewell./ The smoke of beacons has burnt for three months on end./ Letters from home are worth three thousand pieces of gold."

Today the Communists claim him as their own, a poor man, weeping for the suffering masses of China. However, he was not poor, though he spoke in a way which the Chinese themselves very well understood — as a man living in a straw hut and wearing rags. Nor was his grief for the wretched in any way unique among poets. When he speaks of the meager hospitality he can offer, that was a convention. Undoubtedly he had his difficulties during the rebellion but they were transitory.

This is not important. What matters was his compassion for mankind, and his great genius in this winged art, which with a few luminous and trenchant lines can conjure up a universal scene, lifting the heart.

A bank of fine grass and light breeze
A tall-masted solitary night boat:
Stare descend over the vast wild plain:
Floating, floating, what am I like?
Between earth and sky, a gull alone.

Enid Saunders Condon

The Monitor's religious article

You can be happy

Are you happy? You should be! Because happiness, with its accompanying zest for life, is evidence that you feel the very presence of good with you always. The genuinely happy person manifests an inner peace that comes from acquainting oneself with God, divine Love.

"Happiness," writes Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, "is spiritual, born of Truth and Love." Happiness is our divine right. Not only is each of us entitled to happiness, but we are capable of achieving it now, today, by understanding man's true identity as the spiritual reflection of God. The inspired account of creation in the first chapter of the Bible declares, "God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." By basing thought on the aliveness of good, we can expect a larger enjoyment of happiness, poise, and serenity in our lives.

Are sadness, dark recollections, self-punishing accusations, etched on our faces? These do not belong to God's beloved child! And we should not allow them to deprive us of our rightful expression of happiness, health, and a sense of well-being. Truth enables us to triumph over these aggressive suggestions. No error can long endure against a determined stand for one's true selfhood as the idea of God, divine Mind.

Christ Jesus put it simply when he told his followers, "The kingdom of God is within you." By knowing this and holding good in consciousness, we will naturally reject all disturbing suggestions of evil and inevitably enjoy increasing happiness.

We can wipe the slate clean of sorrowful memories. Mrs. Eddy points out, "Truth makes a new creature, in whom old things pass away and 'all things are become new.'" This may not happen all at once, but each day we can drop one more unhappy thought from our consciousness and experience.

Dismiss all that was negative in the past! It has no power over the present. Each day is new! The laws of Truth and Love enable us to give up serving any belief in a power apart from God with its arguments of self-condemnation, smoldering resentment over real or fancied wrongs, fears, regrets. Not one of these has power to affect our present experience unless we hold on to it. Not one has any basis in reality, for in truth man is and always has been God's cherished reflection, held securely in Love, incapable of wrongdoing or suffering. God's reflection, man, has

never been touched by material circumstances or influenced by evil suggestions. Nor has he ever been a target for hate.

There is in reality no negative power, no evil intelligence, to control or manipulate God's man, the spiritual expression of divine Mind. Divine Mind — the only Mind there is — knows nothing of materiality or the human concept of time. There is no unhappy past in divinity. The counterfeit record must be seen as having no place in Mind or in man's true consciousness as Mind's spiritual likeness.

Be assured! If you let the light of Truth outline the mental shadows, you will find yourself radiating health and happiness.

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 67; **Genesis 1:31; †Luke 17:21; ‡Science and Health, p. 201.

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Siesta key

It is evening on the mercurial sea
and everyone has gone in
to table light and candle light.
The children have missed
the last flight of gulls that soar north
to Bird Island.
Only I stand.
With me in a little distance
one gull
reflecting in the pink water
of a tide pool
makes shadow so sharp,
everything else has no edges.

Two pelicans trail home
breasting the sleepy water.
And finally in the almost-dark
a skimmer, beak open, dipping,
skims the rim of night.

Burnham Eaton

OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

Mideast dangers

Washington
There is a strong possibility that the choice between peace or another war in the Middle East may be made within the next two or three months.

Not that war would be likely to break out at the end of that time, nor even for a considerable time thereafter, but that the momentum toward a peaceful settlement which has been built up since 1973 could be decisively interrupted, the hopeful atmosphere so painstakingly cultivated by Secretary Kissinger and now President Carter could be poisoned and dispelled, and the present opportunity to move from war to peace could be irretrievably lost without most outsiders, even perhaps most inhabitants of the region, realizing what had happened.

Four United States administrations since 1967 have understood that a prolongation of the Arab-Israeli conflict might not only be ultimately fatal to their friend and protégé Israel, but also threaten the security of the United States and its European and Japanese allies. Another Middle Eastern war could interrupt or seriously curtail oil supplies essential to their economic welfare, or it could lead to a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

For these reasons four presidents since Lyndon Johnson have sought, by different tactics but with the same end in mind, to bring about a peaceful settlement. President Carter and Secretary Vance have pursued that goal assiduously for eight months, their first purpose being to reconvene the Geneva conference where the parties could sit down face to face and negotiate directly. Such a negotiation has been a principal Israeli objective for three decades, one which the Arabs have at last come to accept.

No sooner, however, had this obstacle seemed to be overcome than each party, while solemnly professing its willingness to negotiate "without conditions," has proceeded publicly to describe its position on critical issues in such hard and fast terms as to cause the other side to question whether the conference would be of any use. The whole atmosphere has changed substantially for the worse. Conversations in Washington and New York this month may be the last chance to avoid a total collapse of near-term prospects for peace.

How has this tragic deterioration come about? Largely through an accidental inconsistency in timing between Arab and Israeli domestic developments.

Ever since President Sadat in February, 1971, publicly declared his willingness to make

"a peace agreement with Israel," but particularly since Arab recovery of police and confidence with the 1973 war, the moderate majority, notably Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, even Syria, has been moving steadily toward acceptance of Israel as a state and toward willingness to negotiate a comprehensive settlement directly with it. This is a quantum jump forward which has not yet been fully appreciated, or perhaps credited, in Israel. This revolution in Arab positions encouraged the hope that, if the Geneva process could be got under way and kept alive for a year or two, peace might be achieved. At very least war would be postponed.

These prospects have been drastically diminished by the Israeli elections last May which brought to power, almost accidentally and more on domestic than foreign policy grounds, a leader passionately committed to positions which are incompatible with a peaceful settlement with the Arabs, that is, the absorption into Israel of the whole of the West Bank of the Jordan and a refusal to accept any sort of a Palestinian state.

Some have held that Mr. Begin, when confronted by the responsibilities of power, would compromise some of these extreme positions. He will have a further opportunity to do so in the conversations between foreign ministers in

Washington and New York this month and next, but his public attitude so far offers little ground for such hope. Reports of the plan Foreign Minister Dayan is bringing with him suggest that it asks of the Arabs all that Israel wants but denies the Arabs what they insist on in return.

Looking deeper, one gets the impression that the problem is that, psychologically and emotionally, Mr. Begin is not living in 1977 but partly in Biblical times, when the "land of Israel" was larger than it could conceivably be 2,000 years later, and partly in the late 1940s, when Israel triumphed easily over its weak and divided Arab adversaries.

Such a posture is out of date. On the one hand, it gives substance to the long-standing Arab claim that the Israelis are incurably expansionist, that they will never be satisfied territorially. On the other, it fails to take account of the ascending curve of Arab power, which is certain to overtake and pass that of Israel in the not too distant future.

Is there anything that can still be done to relieve the situation, to restore the climate of negotiation and compromise before it is too late? That will be the subject of the following article.

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My brother was an only child

Melvin Maddocks

"Brothers Are Separate People," otherwise known as BASP, is a nonprofit organization dedicated to resisting the glib idea that having a brother explains everything about a man's personality. The president of BASP — a jolly sort with three brothers and two sisters — likes to say that the first time he heard the phrase "sibling rivalry" it sounded like the name of a motorboat race to him.

In the Camelot days when a BASP member stumbled across one of those articles about how hard it was to be Bobby Kennedy when there was Jack, and how hard it was to be Jack when there was Joe Jr., he used to turn the pages with record speed, eyes averted. Now another brother act is on the Washington (and Plains) scene, and the BASPs, eyes averted, have waited patiently for all the brother-analysis to blow away, like cotton balls in Georgia.

Not a chance. And so this time the BASPs have passed a resolution that, reluctantly, in the cause of cliché-fighting, they can no longer abstain from the subject of Jimmy and Billy Carter.

A younger brother, all the brother-analysis assume, has two principal choices:

1. To follow in the footsteps of his older brother as best he can.
2. To do pretty much the opposite.

It has been oh-so-simple, as the BASPs see it, to set up a Carter-brothers stereotype along the lines of the second proposition: Jimmy is presented as the model boy. The faithful down-doe of farm chores. The buckle-down student. The Annapolis patriot. The family man. The Sunday School teacher. Lillian's obedient son for life. The model boy who — as all model boys are invited to — grew up to be President.

As for Billy, he never grew up at all, or so the sibling pundits confidently argue. He has remained the perpetual kid. The whittler on the porch. The hanger-around the gas station. Red-necked Billy, the Good Old Boy (Yahool), playing L'il Abner to Jimmy's Robert E. Lee.

This, the BASPs protest, is the way the brother-analysis cartoon the Carters, and Billy — now a \$500,000 commodity on the public-appearance circuit — seems to be trapped within the clownish lines of his dumb-brother caricature, they fear. He is the first to point out that Jimmy and Ruth were always at the top of their classes while he was sort-of 26th in a class of 28. The only picture he ever poses for are "after-hours." Jimmy dares to be seen — loves to be seen — playing softball; Billy

doesn't dare to be seen working.

And yet, like Jimmy, Billy has been a hard worker. The BASPs note, putting in 12-hour days on those Carter peanuts. Like Jimmy, he has The Smile — as well, apparently, as the shrewd toughness that operates behind the smile. Like Jimmy, he aspires to private candor in public. "I'll never lie to you" could be Billy's motto as well.

In fact, Billy can be read as his own kind of populist, the BASPs suggest. If Jimmy wears sweaters, Billy wears sweatshirts. Jimmy walking to the inauguration and Billy propping his feet on anything that will support them — isn't this one and the same image, with the unwritten descriptive line, "I don't put on airs?"

So, with equal glibness, the BASPs analyze their way into "proving" that Jimmy and Billy are actually as alike as two peanuts in a shell. Will the world get their point? That in either case poor Billy is left with only two options. Whatever he does or says, he will face the awful prospect of hearing: "How like his brother!" Or: "How unlike his brother!"

Like all brothers hog-tied by the sibling rivalry in the minds of beholders, Billy Carter will simply have to repeat the BASPs slogan until he and everybody else believe the old, profound joke: "My brother was an only child."

Readers write

On South Africa's helpfulness, Taiwan, trade unionism

In spite of the bad name that South Africa is receiving from the world press, occasions do arise when it does treat its hostile black African neighbors with a fair amount of decency. Here are a few examples:

Recently four South African rescue teams flew to the Chipango coal mine in Mozambique to assist with the rescue after a large number of miners had been trapped following an explosion. This was the second time in a year that South African rescue teams had helped the mine.

Also recently South Africa's railway company aided Swaziland by sending two senior officials to that country to assist with the administration and control of its railways.

During Botswana's 10th independence anniversary last year, Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko's aircraft left the runway and stuck in the mud. Aircraft engineers came from Johannesburg to get the aircraft airborne.

Since the Angolan civil war and the damaged Benguela railway line, South Africa has opened its harbors for the export of Zaire's and Zambia's copper.

South Africa has repaired the Kamalipoort-Maputo railway line and installed new signals

so that the Mozambique harbor can still be used as Transvaal's export harbor.

South Africa built Malawi's new capital and also helped establish its radio service. Several South African doctors and nurses have been sent to many black African countries — Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho, on the borders of South Africa, has several times had its lands ploughed by South African farmers. Furthermore, agricultural implements, as well as large quantities of grain, have been given to that country.

Many students in black Africa study through the University of South Africa.

Cape Town, South Africa

R. E. Luman

Taiwan and China

As a regular reader of the Monitor, I have been interested in the articles about Taiwan and China. It seems to me that the relationship between the U.S.A. and Taiwan need not and should not be affected in any

way by negotiations between the U.S.A. and the Communist Republic of China. The latter will wish to cooperate with the U.S. and nothing will induce her to pursue policies from which she would voluntarily withdraw.

Therefore, no need for Taiwan to be a bargaining counter. If the U.S.A. offers the Communist Republic of China cooperation in mutually beneficial policies, the Chinese would be foolish to refuse, and breaking friendship with Taiwan would not and could not induce them to go further. Surely this is common sense.

Birmingham, England

Miss G. M. Whitfield

Trade unions

Mr. Edgar Newgass in his letter "Trade unions" (Monitor, Sept. 12) raises an important point.

He says "the trade union had a case in the past, etc."

Can it be that the day of trade unionism is done? At least that help must be different? It is surely not a question nowadays of "fighting for the underdog," but for each individual worker, employer, trade union official, to search his own thought and conscience

bringing it into line with honesty, integrity, diligence, and love for one's fellow man. This state of thought is power, and would help provide the answer to strikes and to the distress these strikes cause to the patient and deserving public.

Southampton, England

Lillian Curtis

Human rights

Please convey my thanks and appreciation to the writer and editors of the article "Too Much Zeal on Human Rights" by Pat M. Holt as appeared in the Aug. 9, 1977 issue. The analysis presented in this article is the soundest of anything that has been published on this subject in my humble opinion. We need more down to earth reasoning and rationale to set straight the often political activated and motivated wing flapping.

Tehran, Iran

L. W. Corbell

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

U.S. politics, September 1977

The Republican Party is healthier and happier today thanks to the Lance affair. It may or may not regain a comfortable position in the Congress and in state houses and city halls in the midterm elections of 1978, but its chances for doing so are considerably improved.

They are improved because the very volume of attention given during midsummer of 1977 to the Lance affair has put down a layer of insulation over the public memory of the misfortunes of the Republican Party during the Nixon-Agnew years. True, the word Watergate can still make a Republican wince. True, there is still an occasional mention of Spiro Agnew's indiscretions. True, Richard Nixon keeps the memory of his presidency alive with television interviews. And there is a Nixon book upcoming.

But the fact is that those Republican misfortunes now belong to history. Yes, they remain there embedded in the record. Yes, there is still enough interest in them to make books about the Nixon years salable in the marketplace. But the time has come when most Americans can talk about Watergate with some objectivity. And the heat has gone out of

discussions of the subject. The ability of Watergate to deliver votes to Democrats has ceased to be a major factor in American politics.

The merits of the Lance affair are beside the point so far as practical politics are concerned. Mr. Lance may be as innocent as a babe in glory. He may be found guilty of provable improprieties before we hear the end of this affair. But the important political fact is that since June of this year the Lance affair has been a daily front-page story in almost every newspaper and a top subject of mention in almost every news broadcast. The volume of attention given to the subject has been immense. It has even been front-page news overseas. The London Daily Telegraph gave a top two-column headline to the story of Mr. Lance's first day's testimony before the Senate committee.

Only great big political stories like Teapot Dome and Watergate do this. And it is precisely this volume of attention to the subject which has been manna from heaven for the previously downhearted American Republican Party.

In one sense Mr. Lance has himself been a victim of Watergate. The American press in general was accused during the Watergate era of being unfair to Republicans. Once the Democrats were installed in Washington it became necessary for American editors and reporters to prove that they could be just as critical of Democrats. If any editor or political reporter lagged in the search for Lance misdeeds he was regarded back into the effort by New York Times columnist William Safire, who has reminded them regularly since June that here was a possible scandal in a Democratic administration and what were they doing about it.

Mr. Safire's staunchly loyalist Republicanism has paid off handsomely for his party. He has been vigilant in spotting any tendency in the American press to be soft on Democrats. He has made it impossible for any so inclined to take it easy on Mr. Lance.

By so doing Americans have had a summer of mental conditioning to the idea that Democrats are no better when it comes to ethics than Republicans have been in their day. The conviction of Democratic Gov. Marvin Mandel

of Maryland for political fraud and favoritism has underlined the point. Mr. Mandel, a Democrat, was no better than Spiro Agnew, a Republican.

The net effect of the matters is to cancel out past Republican misdeeds as a usable political weapon. Mr. Lance's tribulations, no matter how unjustified they may be, have been used to neutralize Watergate and used most skillfully. I do not know who the Republican mastermind is behind the use of the Lance affair. Perhaps it was nothing more than Mr. Safire's own sense of political fairness. But with or without conscious planning the Lance affair has been brilliantly used to Republican advantage — and Democratic disadvantage.

It means that from now on the Carter administration will be judged by its own record, not by the record of its Republican predecessors. Meanwhile it is merely a political fact that President Carter was not politically astute enough to foresee the damage which the Lance affair could do to his administration. He should have seen it coming and cut his losses before he had suffered three months of damaging publicity.

Carter's prudence in Peking

By Ray S. Cline

The first success in American conduct of foreign affairs since Jimmy Carter took over national policy emerged from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's trip to China. The success lies simply in the fact that, in contrast to the high romantic style of the past six months, Vance fell back on the ordinary skills of exploratory diplomacy in pursuit of U.S. interests abroad. He presented no extravagant formulas involving facile solutions to the complex, unmanageable problems of East Asia.

The good news is that nothing naive and foolish was done. This may seem to be a small triumph, but we should be grateful for it. After the fiascos of advertising grandiose plans for disarmament in Moscow, final peace settlements in the Mideast, and one-man, one-vote schemes in Africa, doing nothing much at all in Peking and doing it very well provides a welcome turn toward caution and realism in the Carter camp.

The President's own political prudence and the quiet competence of Vance and his senior Foreign Service deputy, Philip Habib, permitted the negotiations to go smoothly and yet avoid making the short-sighted concessions that were urged upon the President as geopolitically clever maneuvers to buy cooperation from the Chinese Communist dictatorship of Lin Biao-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping.

Carter's younger, more ideological advisers in the national security and foreign policy staff structure and political spokesmen of the radical-chic wing of the Democratic Party vigorously pressed the U.S. to curry favor with Peking by jettisoning its long-standing guarantees of the security of the flourishing noncommunist society of 17 million Chinese in the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan. Their view — the conventional wisdom reflected in briefings to Congress and press for many weeks before Vance's trip — was voiced most authoritatively in a speech on Aug. 16 by the hero of the trendier East Coast Democrats, Sen. Teddy Kennedy. In a last-minute effort to stampede the President into breaking off U.S. relations and abrogating the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 with the Chinese government on Taiwan.

The only reason ever given for this voluntary rupture of U.S. ties with one of its closest and most reliable allies in East Asia is that Peking demands it. The People's Republic of China (PRC) claims this is the price for establishing "normal" diplomatic relations, i.e., elevating U.S. and Chinese liaison offices to the full status of embassies. The Kennedy clique studiously disregarded the blow to the credibility of American guarantees that would result from selling Taiwan in payment for an em-

bassy in Peking. The Japanese, South Koreans, and, in fact, America's allies everywhere could not fail to be 'disheartened by such a bargain. Kennedy and the young geopolitical theorists whom he is echoing justify this step of appeasement of Peking and abandonment of Taiwan on the grounds that it will ensure that the PRC will remain anti-Soviet. This is like paying off the Mafia to be sure they will stay anti-police. Both Hua and Teng have recently confirmed in the harshest terms their fear and hatred of the U.S.S.R., their rival for eventual leadership among communist nations and their arch-enemy since Mao Tse-tung broke with the U.S.S.R. in 1960.

The PRC today yearns for closer relations with Washington for one reason and one reason only — to stiffen U.S. opposition to the international power position of the U.S.S.R. and ensure that if there is war, as the PRC leaders say they expect, it will involve and cripple both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The ultimate rationale of this policy is, as Mao once carefully explained to Nikita Khrushchev to Soviet horror, there are so many Chinese (800 million) that they are bound to survive a nuclear war as the true victors because they could lose 300 million people and still carry on.

In these circumstances it is hard to find a convincing argument for consigning to the

PRC's tender mercies 17 million Chinese who want to govern themselves. The real victory in Peking was that Carter did not buy the line widely touted before Vance's visit: "We owe the PRC Taiwan." Not only did he come to see there was no real pressure on the U.S. to act except from his own staff, but he also realized that his highly popular policy of stressing human rights in international affairs could not stand the shock of betraying our Chinese friends on Taiwan, who are unanimous in opposing being subjected to communist dictatorship and are building a much freer, open society in the Republic of China.

As former Undersecretary of State George Ball said, what the U.S. had to lose in placing Peking was "self-respect." This is a commodity that no great power can neglect. Upon Vance's return the President said "a decision about China . . . is undoubtedly going to be well in the future and it will be based on what I consider to be the best interests of our country." These are prudent words, preserving American self-respect and credibility abroad. They signal a welcome turn of the Carter foreign policy process toward realism.

Mr. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA, is executive director of studies of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

No case for the neutron bomb

By Pat Holt

More than most weapons, the neutron bomb has a curious Dr. Strangelove quality to it: it kills people without destroying property.

This would present an attractive temptation to a government with a Dr. Strangelove mentality: it could wipe out a defending army along with so much of the resident population as seemed necessary and then move in to take over the enemy's farms and factories intact.

One of the arguments made for the bomb, though not carried to this extreme, is precisely that because the bomb is more discriminatory, the inhibitions against using it in the heat of combat would be less, and therefore the credibility of the bomb would be greater. This argument is made with particular reference to Central Europe, but it would apply also in Korea, Taiwan, and the Middle East.

The argument is based on the premise that NATO is outgunned and outgunned in conventional weapons by the European forces of the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, the argument goes, the Soviet Union, if it were of a mind to do so, could overrun Western Europe unless NATO resorted to tactical weapons, of which there are about 7,000 in the area. But these are

so destructive that the President of the United States (the only person who can legally give the order to fire them) would be reluctant to use them; or at least the Soviets are sufficiently dubious of his determination to use them that they lose their deterrent effect.

The people who make this argument go on to conclude that what is needed is a smaller, neater, less destructive weapon the potential use of which the Soviets would find credible — in a word, the neutron bomb.

This is the same argument that was made a number of years ago in favor of developing tactical nuclear weapons in the first place. It was said then that the big strategic bombs on intercontinental ballistic missiles were so destructive that they would be useless in a ground war in Central Europe. And so they would: unless it were decided to use them to blow up the Soviet Union — an option which ought not to be ruled out and which must certainly give the Soviets pause.

Anyway, a great deal of effort went into developing smaller nuclear weapons, but even these are now found by proponents of the neutron bomb to be too destructive. One might take

some perverse comfort in this apparent turning around of the arms race — instead of seeking bigger weapons we are seeking smaller ones (could we possibly be on the road back to bows and arrows?) — if it were not aimed at making small nuclear wars not only conceivable but credible. This is a highly dubious policy. Further, it overlooks two crucial facts:

1. Sooner or later, and usually sooner rather than later, the Soviets can build any weapon the U.S. can build. So what happens to the extra deterrent the neutron bomb is supposed to give NATO when the Warsaw Pact has it, too?

2. NATO does not now have, and never has had, a military doctrine for the use of nuclear weapons. The closest thing to such a doctrine is the unspoken assumption that NATO will fight with conventional weapons until it is losing and then it will fight with tactical nuclear weapons until it is losing and then it will blow up the world. One may be pardoned some skepticism — indeed, one should not be pardoned the naïveté — that the introduction of a new kind of nuclear weapon would advance the thinking of NATO's military planners in this regard.

But, it is argued, the Soviets may develop the neutron bomb even if the U.S. doesn't, and then where will it be? Well, it will be right where it is now — with enough power to blow the Soviets (and everybody else) off the face of the earth. That ought to be enough.

None of this is to argue that the U.S. ought to close its mind to the neutron bomb for ever and ever. It is only to argue that a paravase case for it has not yet been made. After all, the idea for such a bomb has been kicking around in some of the more esoteric scientific circles for a good 20 years. The need for it seems no more urgent now than it was then.

Although the new bomb is sometimes presented as a mere refinement of weapons already in the American inventory, it would in fact be a fairly radical departure. Before the U.S. absentmindedly backs into such a departure, its implications, particularly for U.S. nonproliferation policy, ought to be considered more fully than they have been thus far.

Mr. Holt is former chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.